

# Biblical Hebrew Tenses and Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Pentateuch

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## Abstract

*This paper examines tenses in Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch from two viewpoints: the reflection of Biblical Hebrew tenses in Saadya's Post-Classical Arabic, and how much of the whole range of Arabic tenses, especially complex tenses, is manifested in this language. These two aspects are examined according to four versions of the translation: Ms. St. Petersburg, Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot. Alongside the more obvious translations of past and future Saadya Gaon's translation reveals sensitivity to aspectual nuances like past perfect, present perfect, or continuous past, and inasmuch as can be observed in the translation, also to certain modal nuances. Attuned as he is to the great range of the Biblical Hebrew tenses, including their special nuances, Saadya exploits surprisingly little the variety of complex tenses involving an auxiliary verb available in Classical, Post Classical, and Middle Arabic for expressing broader nuances of time and aspect.\**

## Introduction

Tenses in Saadya Gaon's translations of the Pentateuch should be examined from two viewpoints: the reflection of Biblical Hebrew tenses in Saadya's Post-Classical Arabic, and how much of the whole range of Arabic tenses is manifested in this language.

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This paper attempts first to make its contribution by examining the renderings and possible meaning of various Biblical Hebrew tenses in Saadya Gaon's Arabic translation of the Pentateuch. Time in Biblical Hebrew, in both verbal and nominal clauses, can be expressed by finite verbs, but these are by no means the only way. Verbs expressing time are sometimes joined by time adverbials, and in nominal clauses which do not contain the verb *היה* time adverbials can almost exclusively express time, though they also rely on context. When time adverbials are absent from the nominal clause, only context suffices to express time.<sup>1</sup> Yet there is much debate about the exact sort of time expressed by the various verbal forms recognized as tenses in Biblical Hebrew, in verbal clauses or in nominal clauses containing the verb *היה*.<sup>2</sup> The finite verbs might often express explicit unequivocal time, at least in Biblical Hebrew prose, but other cases are more ambiguous, hence controversial, in Biblical Hebrew prose and poetry alike.

In light of the problematic analysis of tenses in Biblical Hebrew, examining past interpretations of question, as reflected in Bible exegesis and Biblical translations, carries special interest. Among such past interpretations, Saadya Gaon's Arabic translation of the Pentateuch is especially important on account of the significance of Saadya's works and status among Jewish and non-Jewish communities, but also because his Bible translation is explicitly known to reflect an effort to render a Biblical text in a transparent non-verbal way.<sup>3</sup>

Second, the current paper is intended to scrutinize the evidence from the viewpoint of Classical and Middle Judaeo-Arabic and examine how extensively Arabic complex tenses are used in Saadya's translation of the Pentateuch. Complex tenses involving the combination of suffix and prefix conjugation verbs with the auxiliary *kāna*,<sup>4</sup> joined or disjoined by the Arabic particle *qad*, are common in Classical Arabic.<sup>5</sup> Yet the use of complex tenses including auxiliary verbs is not restricted to Classical Arabic. In his grammar of medieval Judaeo-Arabic, Blau shows that the use of the auxiliary *kāna* and other auxiliaries in combination with other verbs is common in that language as well.<sup>6</sup> On this evidence, I investigate here whether and

<sup>1</sup> On the expression of time in nominal clauses see Zewi 1999b.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., McFall 1982, Rainey 1990, 2003a, 2003b, and *ibid.* more references.

<sup>3</sup> On Saadya's works and status including his Bible translation see, e.g., Ben-Shammai 1993, Blau 1998a, p. 237, 1998b, p. 111, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes also other auxiliaries, like *šāna*, belonging to the group called by Arab grammarians '*kāna* and its sisters' in combination with prefix conjugation verbs (e.g., Wright 1898, pp. 105-106, Remark f).

<sup>5</sup> For the use of complex tenses in Classical Arabic see, e.g., Wright 1898, pp. 5-6, §3, p. 21, §9, p. 22, §10, Reckendorf 1921, pp. 295-299, §154, Fischer 2002, p. 102, §180, note 1, pp. 107-108, §190-§193.

<sup>6</sup> Blau 1980, pp. 183-189, §277-§298.

how extensively Saadya Gaon's translation, in Post-Classical Arabic,<sup>7</sup> employs these complex tenses, and whether and how extensively its diverse editions vary in this respect. Another sort of a complex tense is the combination *qad* + *qatala* without the auxiliary *kāna*. This complex, discussed in detail below, mostly conveys the meaning of a perfect tense, although it demonstrates other nuances as well.

Because of the differences in various versions of Saadya Gaon's translation, each language phenomenon is studied comparatively in several sources. This paper considers four: Ms. St. Petersburg, from about 1009/1010 CE,<sup>8</sup> Derenbourg edition, which is a kind of eclectic scholarly edition based on a Yemenite manuscript and the polyglots of Constantinople (1546 CE) and London (1657 CE), Ḥasīd edition, based on Yemenite manuscripts, and the London Polyglot (1657 CE) itself. Every example is primarily cited according to Ms. St. Petersburg, which is considered the most reliable source of Saadya's translation. However, parts of this manuscript are absent, and in such cases Derenbourg edition is the next version approached to complete a certain citation. All versions are considered for significant differences from Ms. St. Petersburg or when they shed special light on certain issues.

## Functions of Thenses and Their Translations

Scholars dispute over the meaning and use of Biblical Hebrew verbal tenses, but it is customary nowadays to recognize a basic division into four verbal forms whose meaning and use are distinct: two *yiqtol* forms, one without an introducing *wāw* and another with it, namely *wayyiqtol*, and two *qatal* forms, one without an introducing *wāw* and another with it, namely *weqatal*. The following sub-sections discuss typical functions of each of these verbal forms and their translations independently.

### *yiqtol*

In fact, not just one *yiqtol* form exists in Biblical Hebrew but three. These are the three moods: indicative, cohortative and jussive.<sup>9</sup> The first

<sup>7</sup> On the Post-Classical characteristics of this Arabic see Blau 1998b.

<sup>8</sup> On the importance of this manuscript see Blau 1998b. English translation is according to the RSV with minor changes where necessary. Hebrew characters and diacritic signs of the Arabic translations are according to the source cited; however, a dot above a letter is replaced here by an apostrophe.

<sup>9</sup> On these moods in Biblical Hebrew see, e.g., Driver 1892, Kautzsch 1910, pp. 309–339, §106–§112, Joüon & Muraoka 2006, pp. 324–379, §III–§120.

mood, the indicative, is mostly considered as expressing tense. Rainey, for example, among others, tends to emphasize the employment of this form to express future tense, especially in Biblical Hebrew discourse prose, and he adds that it also indicates continuous past. Although Rainey opposes the analysis of verbal forms in Biblical Hebrew as expressing aspects, he sometimes mentions aspectual nuances, like 'continuous' in the term 'continuous past', etc., and he regards it as a combination of time expression and the time continuum.<sup>10</sup> The second and third moods, the cohortative and the jussive, which comprise lengthened forms and shortened forms respectively, when the root and verb pattern allow it, serve modal functions, namely to express the speaker's subjective attitude: confirmation, doubt, wish, command, etc.<sup>11</sup>

The Classical Arabic verbal system presents three moods as well, albeit not entirely parallel with Hebrew. The Arabic verbal form *yaqtulu*, ending in *-u* vowel, constitutes the indicative in Arabic and is regarded as generally parallel to Biblical Hebrew indicative *yiqtol*. In Arabic this form expresses present and future. The Arabic shortened verbal form *yaqtul*, with no vowel ending, is parallel to the Biblical Hebrew shortened jussive but also to the Biblical Hebrew lengthened cohortative, ending in *-ā* vowel. The Arabic form *yaqtul* also follows the Arabic negative particle *لَمْ*, in which case it expresses past. This role also has partial parallels in Biblical Hebrew in the use of the forms *wayyiqtol* in prose and *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* in poetry for expression of past. Contrary to the modal functions of the Arabic short form *yaqtul*, the Arabic long form *yaqtula* is particularly used in subordinate clauses, and despite its occurrence in contexts of purpose, it is not clear whether it originates from a modal form or not. This subordinate form does not have Biblical Hebrew parallels.<sup>12</sup>

Thanks to Blau's grammatical descriptions of Middle Arabic, we know that in these dialects the distinctions between the three moods are reduced.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, the Arabic language of Saadya Gaon is not exactly Middle Arabic but a type Blau calls 'Post-Classical Arabic,' namely a language that still contains many Classical Arabic elements even though it also evinces many deviations from Classical Arabic. Especially regarding Ms. St. Petersburg, Blau indicates that the verbal moods in it are preserved

<sup>10</sup> Rainey 1990, 2003a.

<sup>11</sup> These modal expressions involve in fact two types of modality, deontic and epistemic. See, e.g., Crystal 2003, p. 130, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> On the suggestion to consider the origins of the Arabic subordinate forms as modal, see, e.g., Fleisch 1968.

<sup>13</sup> Blau 1980, pp. 125–127, §175.



in contrast to the situation reflected in later Yemenite manuscripts, and he mentions long endings of indicative verbs and short endings of jussive verbs in accordance with Classical Arabic grammatical practice.

The situation of weak verbs in this manuscript is different. Although Ms. St. Petersburg generally tends to keep Classical Arabic forms, Blau indicates that with weak verbs whose vowels drop when shortened it occasionally deviates, and prefers regular indicative forms. It also prefers indicative forms following imperatives in the pattern known as *جواب الامر*. This usage is attested in Classical Arabic too, but it is not regular there.<sup>14</sup>

Examples of the functions of the three moods and their translations are as follows.

Indicative expressing future in Biblical Hebrew discourse prose:

An indicative verb, *אֶעֱשֶׂה*, expressing future in Biblical Hebrew prose within direct speech, appears in the following example:

- 1) Gen. 2:18 — *וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֱלֹהִים לֹא-טוֹב הָיִית הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ אֶעֱשֶׂה-לוֹ עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ* — “Then the LORD God said, ‘It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him.’”<sup>15</sup>

Ms. St. Petersburg: *וְאֵן אֱלֹהִים קָאָל לֹא כִיר פִּי בְקָא אָדָם וְחָדָה אֶצְנַע לֶה עֹנָא חֲדָאָה*

Similar versions for this verse appear in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot. In all of them the verb *אֶעֱשֶׂה* is rendered by an Arabic indicative in first person which expresses future. In other cases the Arabic translation might occasionally employ the particle *سَ*, which is attached to an indicative verb to clarify its future non-present indication. This is the case in the next example, Deut. 31: 29:

- 2) Deut. 31:29 — *כִּי יָדַעְתִּי אַחֲרַי מוֹתִי כִּי-הִשָּׁחַת תִּשְׁחַתּוּן* — “For I know that after my death you will surely act corruptly.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: *פֹּאנִי אַעֲלֵם אֲנֹכֶם בַּעַד מוֹתִי סַתְפִּסְדוּן*

The particle *سَ* introduces the verb in this verse in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot. The Arabic verb itself shows the long indicative form ending in *-ūna*, as, in fact, does the Hebrew verb in this verse. As stated above, Middle Arabic is not consistent in its use of this ending, and according to Blau some dialects adopt it in all moods while

<sup>14</sup> Blau 1998b, pp. 116, 119, §5, §6.

<sup>15</sup> English translations are according to the RSV.

others always avoid it.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, it is found in the Post-Classical Arabic of Saadya's translation as it is maintained in Ms. St. Petersburg as well as all versions examined.<sup>17</sup>

Indicative expressing continuous past in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose:

An indicative non-shortened verbal form *יַעֲלֶה* expresses continuous past in the next example, which comes from the narrative prose second version of the creation:

- 3) Gen. 2:6 — *וַאֲדַ יַעֲלֶה מִן־הָאָרֶץ וַהֲשִׁקָּה אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי־הָאָדָמָה* — “But a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: *וְלֹא בִכְאָר כִּאֵן יַעֲד מִנְהָא פִיסְקִי גְמִיעַ וְגִהָא*

Similar versions appear in Derenbourg edition and in the London Polyglot. Ḥasīd edition, however, demonstrates an equivalent version apart from omission of the negative particle. The addition of the negative particle in the translation is probably original as it appears in Ms. St. Petersburg, and in any case it is irrelevant to the time expression.<sup>18</sup> As to the time expression, the Arabic translation proves that Saadya clearly recognizes the meaning of the verb *יַעֲלֶה* as expressing continuous past, since he renders it by the common complex Arabic tense expressing continuous past through an auxiliary verb followed by an indicative, *כִּאֵן יַעֲד*.

Jussives and cohortatives:

None of the versions of the translation examined for this paper contains any vocalization, but one can recognize Arabic *majzūm* and *manṣūb* verbal forms used for the translation of the Hebrew forms in 2<sup>nd</sup> person feminine and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine, since these forms are capable of losing their *-īna/-ūna* endings. Certain weak verbs are also recognizable as *majzūm* and *manṣūb* verbal forms since they display shortening of long vowels. The identification of these forms is possible at least in Ms. St. Petersburg, in which Classical Arabic verb forms are usually preserved. Nevertheless, deviations from Classical Arabic are attested in Ms. St. Petersburg as well. One example which contains a *majzūm* expressing a past in negation is the following:

<sup>16</sup> Blau 1980, pp. 125–127, §175.

<sup>17</sup> Blau 1998b, p. 119, §5.

<sup>18</sup> This addition was probably inserted into the text in accordance with the wider exegesis of Saadya Gaon, in which he states that nothing existed before the Genesis. For this explanation see Derenbourg 1893, p. 7, note 3.

- 4) Deut. 32:17 — אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּם — “...gods they had never known.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: מַעְבֻּדָּת לֹא יַעֲרֹפְנָהּ

In Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot, however, the translation is **לֹא יַעֲרֹפְנָהּ** without *-ūna* ending, and the verb is a formal *majzūm*, as expected in Classical Arabic.

The situation is even more complicated because the appearance of indicative forms in both Biblical Hebrew and Arabic in modal contexts makes the distinction of the moods even more difficult. An example of such a mixture of indicative and other modal forms, in the Biblical Hebrew original and in the Arabic translation, appears in the rendering of the Biblical Hebrew indicatives negated by **לֹא** and expressing prohibition. Along with a translation by Arabic *majzūm* of verbal forms negated by **אֵל** in Biblical Hebrew, namely jussives, *majzūm* is also commonly used as a translation of Hebrew indicatives negated by **לֹא** and expressing prohibition. In the next examples of Exodus 20:17 and Deuteronomy 2:5 a verbal form, a *majzūm* in plural, is employed as a translation of verbs negated by **אֵל**.

- 5) Exod. 20:17 — אֵל-תִּירָאוּ — “Do not fear.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: **לֹא תִכְאֹפוּ**, and a similar translation is found in all the other versions.

- 6) Deut. 2:5 — אֵל-תִּתְּגַדְּרוּ בָּם — “Do not contend with them.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: **לֹא תִתְּחַרְשׁוּ בָּהֶם**

A similar translation for Deut. 2:5 is found in Derenbourg edition and Ḥasīd edition. A slightly different version, **أَنْ تَتَحَرَّشُوا**, albeit with a similar verbal form, is found in the London Polyglot. In the latter version it is probably meant as a *mansūb*, since it follows the particle **أَنْ**. A verbal *majzūm* form, however, might also be found as a translation of indicatives negated by **לֹא** in prohibition, like the following Exod. 20:20.

- 7) Exod. 20:20 — **לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן אֵתִי אֱלֹהִי כְּכֹף וְאֱלֹהֵי זָהָב לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם** — “You shall not make gods of silver to be with me, nor shall you make for yourselves gods of gold.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: **פִּלָּא תַצְטַנְעוּ מֵעִי מַעְבֻּדָּת מִן פְּצָה וּמַעְבֻּדָּת מִן דְּהַב לֹא תַצְטַנְעוּהָ לָכֶם**.

Again, a similar rendering appears in all other versions examined. Moreover, as already demonstrated, all the versions are not always equal in their renderings. For example, a long form, which takes the form of an in-

dicative verb, appears in the Arabic translation of a negation by **אל** in Ms. St. Petersburg, in Ḥasīd edition, and with another verb also in the London Polyglot; but a short form appears in Derenbourg edition, in the next example:

- 8) Gen. 13:8 — **וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם אֶל-לוֹט אֶל-נָא תְהִי מְרִיבָה בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶיךָ וּבֵין רְעִי וּבֵין רְעֵיךָ כִּי-אֲנָשִׁים אַחִים אָנָּחְנוּ** — “Then Abram said to Lot, ‘Let there be no strife between you and me, and between your herdsmen and my herdsmen; for we are kinsmen.’”

Ms. St. Petersburg: **חתי קאל אברם ללוט לא תכון כצומה ביני ובינך ובין רעתי ורעאתך לאנא קום דוו קראבה** .

This version also appears in Ḥasīd edition. A slightly different one with a different indicative verb appears in the London Polyglot:

**حَتَّى قَالَ اِبْرَاهِمُ لِلْوَطِ لَا يَحْسُنُ اَنْ يَكُونَ خُصُومَةُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ**

A version displaying a short form is found only in Derenbourg edition:

**חתי קאל אברם ללוט לא תכן כצומה ביני ובינך ובין רעאי ורעאך פאננא קום ד'ו קראבה**

The examples above prove that the distinctions in the various renderings of Biblical moods are very often hard to identify or define clearly in Saadya Gaon's translation. Yet occasionally particular translation patterns, each connected to a specific modal Arabic form, do occur. In Exodus 8:4 below a long Hebrew cohortative form **וַאֲשַׁלְחָה** is rendered in all versions of the translation by an Arabic pattern expressing purpose: **חתי אטלק**, in which the verb, at least in Classical Arabic, is a *manṣūb* ending in *-a* vowel.

In contrast, the short verb **וַיִּסַּר** in the same verse, which expresses a modal nuance of a wish, is not translated in Ms. St. Petersburg, Derenbourg edition, or Ḥasīd edition by the Arabic *majzūm*, and the verb rendering it takes the form of a regular indicative or perhaps a *manṣūb*, **זייל**, which do not display a reduction of the vowel. Only the London Polyglot employs here **أَنْ يُزِيلَ**, namely a clear *manṣūb*. Should the verb **זייל** indeed be considered an indicative in the majority of the versions of this example, this would support Blau's assertion that in the **الامر جواب** pattern an indicative is the preferred verbal form. The example is as follows:

- 9) Exod. 8:4 — **וַיֹּאמֶר הֶעֱתִירוּ אֶל-ה' וַיִּסַּר** — “Then Pharaoh called Moses and Aaron, and said, ‘Entreat the LORD to take away the frogs from me and from my people; and I will let the people go to sacrifice to the LORD.’”

Ms. St. Petersburg: פדעי פרעון במוסי והרון וקאל אשפעא אלי אללה יזיל  
אלצפאדע עני וען קומי חתי אטלק אלקום ידבחון ללה

The versions of Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot for this verse are almost alike. They differ in two cases: (1) as indicated above, a clear *manṣūb* translates the verb וַיִּסֶּר only in the London Polyglot; (2) the final verb in Derenbourg edition and in the London Polyglot is ידבחו not ידבחון, namely a short *manṣūb* or *majzūm* form.

### *wayyiqtol*

The form *wayyiqtol* is typical of Biblical Hebrew narrative prose in initial clausal position and within a sequence of verbs, expressing single actions in the past. This form can also express single past actions in Biblical Hebrew poetry, although in this genre it appears also without the consecutive *wāw*.<sup>19</sup> In several translations *wayyiqtol* verbs in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose are normally rendered by the suffix conjugation فَعَّلَ verbs because these indicate past in Arabic. The nuance of advancing the narrative sequence is expressed in Arabic not by a special verbal form but by a few conjunctions and related particles, which convey sequence and result, mostly ف and ثم.<sup>20</sup> The mere combination of these particles with the suffix conjugation verbs explicitly renders the Biblical Hebrew *wayyiqtol* forms. Saadya's translation is thus faithful to the Biblical Hebrew original in the way it indicates single actions in the past, and frequently also in rendering their sequential nature. Examples are as follows.

Single actions in the past in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose:

In the first example of Gen. 2:18, also cited above for another reason, a فَعَّلَ verb renders the single action in the past indicated by the Biblical Hebrew *wayyiqtol* verb in all versions examined. Only in Ḥasīd edition is the particle ثم found in initial position, conveying the sequential nature of the verb:

- 10) Gen. 2:18 — וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֱלֹהִים לֹא-טוֹב הָיִיתָ הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ אֶעֱשֶׂה-לּוֹ עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ  
— “Then the LORD God said, ‘It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him.’”

<sup>19</sup> On the role of the consecutive *wāw* in advancing the narrative sequence see, e.g., Kautzsch 1910, pp. 132–135, §49.

<sup>20</sup> On these conjunctions see Wright 1896, pp. 290–291, §366b, p. 293, §367i, Fischer 2002, pp. 176–177, §329–§330. On their role in Karaite Arabic translations and in Saadya Gaon's Arabic translation according to Derenbourg edition see Polliack 1997, pp. 105–110.

Ms. St. Petersburg: ואן אללה קאל לא כיר פי בקא אדם וחדה אצנע לה עונא  
 חד'אה  
 Derenbourg edition: וקאל אללה לא כ'יר פי בקא אדם וחדה אצנע לה עונא  
 חד'אה  
 Ḥasīd edition: ת'ם קאל אללה לא כ'יר פי בקא אדם וחדה אצנע לה עונא  
 חד'אה  
 London Polyglot: وَقَالَ اللَّهُ لَا خَيْرَ فِي بَقَاءِ آدَمَ وَحَدَهُ اصْنَعْ لَهُ عَوْنًا  
 حَذَاهُ

In the next example the translation is almost the same in all four versions, but only Ms. St. Petersburg and the London Polyglot have the particle **ثم** in initial position introducing the verb, **رَفَعَ** / **תם רפע**, while Derenbourg edition has **ורפע** and Ḥasīd edition has **פרפע**. All the verbs are rendered by an Arabic **فَعَّلَ** form:

- 11) Gen. 18:2 — וַיָּשָׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא וְהִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה אַנְשִׁים נִצְבִּים עָלָיו וַיִּרְא וַיֵּרָץ — “He lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, three men stood in front of him. When he saw them, he ran from the tent door to meet them, and bowed himself to the earth.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: תם רפע עיניו פאדא בתלתה נפר וקוף אמאמה  
 פלמא ראהם אחצ'ר תלקאהם מן באב אלכבא וסגד עלי אלארץ

### *qatal*

As suggested recently by Rainey in a paper discussing the use of the suffix conjugation in Biblical Hebrew and North-West Semitic languages,<sup>21</sup> *qatal* verbs indicate past in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose when placed in second position in a clause, and in Biblical Hebrew discourse when placed in any position unconditionally. The following examples demonstrate several of Saadya's translations of Biblical Hebrew *qatal* verbs expressing past.

A *qatal* verb placed in second position in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose:

A *qatal* verb is placed in second clausal position to express past mostly when the latter clause is opposed to an earlier one, when it conveys marginal parenthetical information, when a new subject arises, or when a remoter past is recalled, namely when a past perfect tense is expected in languages in which it exists.<sup>22</sup> The first example, Gen. 2:20, employs a *qatal* verb to express past in second position in an opposed clause:

<sup>21</sup> Rainey 2003b.

<sup>22</sup> See Zewi 2007, pp. 12–13, §1.3, and more references there.

- 12) Gen. 2:20 — וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שְׁמוֹת לְכָל-הַבְּהֵמָה וּלְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְכָל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה — “The man gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for the man there was not found a helper fit for him.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: פסמא אדם אסמא לגמיע אלבהאים וטאיר אלסמא וגמיע וחש אלצחרא ולם יוגד לאדם עון חדאה

Derenbourg edition: פסמא אדם אסמא לגמיע אלבהאים וטאיר אלסמא וגמיע וחש אלצחרא ולם יגד אדם עונא חדאה

Hasid edition: פלמא סמא אדם אסמא לגמיע אלבהאים וטאיר אלסמא ווחש אלצחרי ולם יגד לנפסה עונא חדאה

London Polyglot: فَأَسْمَىٰ آدَمَ أَسْمَاءً لِجَمِيعِ الْبَهَائِمِ وَطَيْرِ السَّمَاءِ وَحَشِ الصَّخْرَاءِ وَلَمْ يَجِدْ آدَمَ عَوْنًا حِدَاهُ

The contrast between the two clauses in this verse emerges in the negation of the suffix conjugation verb in the second clause. In addition, the second clause is parenthetical and presents a new subject. Since the suffix conjugation verb refers to the past, a suffix conjugation will be expected in the Arabic translation as well. But Saadya's translation almost always prefers a negation by the negative particle *لَمْ*, followed by a *majzūm* verb. This translation choice actually creates an Arabic pattern more analogous to the Biblical one, since both the Biblical Hebrew and the Arabic text maintain an opposition between a prefix and a suffix conjugation verbs: in Biblical Hebrew a prefix conjugation verb וַיִּקְרָא versus a suffix conjugation verb מָצָא, and in Saadya's Arabic translation a suffix conjugation verb פסמא versus a prefix conjugation verb יוגד ולם.<sup>23</sup> In both languages this opposition reflects very well the break in the narrative flow.

A similar opposition is seen in the next example:

- 13) Exod. 10:20 — וַיַּחֲזֶק ה' אֶת-לֵב פַּרְעֹה וְלֹא שָׁלַח אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל — “But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: ושדד אללה קלב פרעון ולם יטלק בני אסראיל

Derenbourg edition, Hasid edition, and the London Polyglot all convey a similar version. In the following example, Gen. 8:11, the verb קָלוּ refers to a past preceding another past, expressed by וַיָּדַע. In Saadya's translation the verb rendering קָלוּ is preceded by the particle *قَدْ*, which here probably indicates a past perfect. In my opinion the particle *قَدْ* in Saadya Gaon's transla-

<sup>23</sup> A passive verb, יוגד, is found in Ms. St. Petersburg versus the passive יגד in the other editions.

tion indicates mostly perfect, either past perfect or present perfect, depending on the context and on the type of prose in which it appears: narrative or discourse, respectively.<sup>24</sup>

- 14) Gen. 8:11 — וַתָּבֹא אֵלָיו הַיּוֹנָה לְעֵת עֶרֶב וְהָיָה עָלֶיהָ זֵית טָרֵף בְּפִיהָ וַיֵּדַע נֹחַ כִּי — “And the dove came back to him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth a freshly plucked olive leaf; so Noah knew that the waters had subsided from the earth.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: פִּנְאָתָהּ וְקַת עֲשָׂא וְאָדָא בּוֹרְקָה זִיתוֹן מִקְטוּעָה פִּי פִּיהָא פִּעְלֵם נוֹחַ אֵן אֵלְמָא קִד כֶּף עֵן אֵלְאָרֶץ

Similar versions also appear in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot, although in the last the verb following the particle *قَدْ* is *جَفَّ* instead of *כָּף*.

A *qatal* verb in Biblical Hebrew discourse:

In the following example a *qatal* verb, *לָקַח*, opens a clause in direct speech, and it is rendered by a suffix conjugation verb in Saadya's translation. The direct speech itself is marked by the infinitive *לְאָמַר*. Here the *qatal* verb refers to an action which took place before another action in the past, expressed by a *wayyiqtol* verb in the narrative, *וַיִּשְׁמַע*. The Arabic translation again employs the particle *قَدْ*, which probably marks present perfect, not past perfect, even though the two verbs mark different stages of past, because the second verb is part of direct speech and belongs to the time of the speech.<sup>25</sup>

- 15) Gen. 31:1 — וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת־דְּבָרֵי בְנֵי־לָבָן לְאָמַר לָקַח יַעֲקֹב אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִינוּ — “Now Jacob heard that the sons of Laban were saying, ‘Jacob has taken all that was our father’s; and from what was our father’s he has gained all this wealth.’”

Ms. St. Petersburg: וְסָמַע כָּלֵאָם בְּנֵי לָבָן יִקְלוּן קִד אַכְד יַעֲקֹב גָּמִיעַ מָא לְאָבִינוּ וּמֵן מָאֵל אָבִינוּ אַצְטָנַע גָּמִיעַ הָדָא אֵלִיסָאֵר

Similar versions appear in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.

<sup>24</sup> For the role of the particle *قَدْ* in Classical Arabic see Wright 1896, p. 286, §362z and Fischer 2002, p. 106, §189a. I intend to discuss this issue in detail elsewhere.

<sup>25</sup> Again, *قَدْ* probably indicates past perfect in narrative and present perfect in discourse, and see above.



*weqatal*

Again, as Rainey suggested in his paper,<sup>26</sup> *weqatal* verbs may express result. The result may occur at various points in time, the expression of which by a *weqatal* verb depends on the time indicated in a preceding verb. Examples are as follows.

*A weqatal verb expressing result in Biblical Hebrew narrative*

- 16) Gen. 2:6 — וַאֲדַם יָצַח מִן־הָאָרֶץ וַהֲשִׁקָּהּ אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמָה — “But a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: ולא בכאר כאן יצעד מנהא פיסקי גמיע וגההא

This example was cited earlier to demonstrate the translation of its first verb; here it is relevant for its second verb. וַהֲשִׁקָּהּ is a *weqatal* verb expressing result, and it depends on the first half of the verse. In this case the result occurred in the past, like the action of the first verb of the verse. In all our versions of Saadya's translation this verse is rendered by a prefix conjugation verb introduced by **ו**, which is a coordinating particle but which also indicates result.

*A weqatal verb expressing result in Biblical Hebrew discourse*

The next example, Exod. 3:21, conveys a *weqatal* verb in discourse, which expresses a divine promise and refers to the future. Saadya's translation here employs a prefix conjugation verb, which well reflects the Biblical Hebrew meaning.

- 17) Exod. 3:21 — וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־חֶן הָעַם־הַזֶּה בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם וְהָיָה כִּי תֵלְכוּן לֹא תֵלְכוּן רִיקָם — “And I will give this people favor in the sight of the Egyptians; and when you go, you shall not go empty.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: ואעטי אלקום חט'א ענד אלמצריין פאדא מצ'יתם לא תמצון פרגא

Similar versions appear in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.

<sup>26</sup> Rainey 2003b.

## The Arabic Energicus and its Biblical Hebrew Parallels

Apart from the prefix conjugation moods, the indicative, the jussive, and the subjunctive, Classical Arabic has another mood employed for particularly strong modal purposes, namely the Energicus or in Arabic terminology *التَّوْنُ الْمُؤَكَّدَةُ*.<sup>27</sup> This mood is found in the context of oaths, promises, commands, prohibitions, etc., and it is commonly used by people of higher rank to lower.<sup>28</sup> The Energicus is especially common in divine promises and commands. The use of this form declines in later stages of the Arabic language. Accordingly, it is interesting that Saadya's translation still shows a small number of Energicus forms, and this use is probably related to the Post Classical characteristics of the Arabic revealed in the translation. This use is even more interesting since the language revealed in Saadya's translation, as stated above, does not always allow clear-cut detection of other Arabic moods.

Considering the Energicus from the viewpoint of Biblical Hebrew raises the question of which Biblical Hebrew forms it renders, since Biblical Hebrew does not have a parallel mood. Even though it is possible historically to connect the Arabic Energicus to the  $-n(n)$  endings found in certain object personal pronouns attached to prefix conjugation verbs, *יִקְטְלֶנָּה*, *יִקְטְלֶנּוּ*, or to long forms of 2<sup>nd</sup> person feminine singular and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine plural indicatives, *תִּקְטְלֶנָּה*, *תִּקְטְלֶנּוּ*, *תִּקְטְלֶנּוּ*, these forms no longer evince any particular modal nuances, and play regular indicative roles.<sup>29</sup> Since the few examples found in Saadya's translation render Biblical Hebrew indicatives, not jussives and cohortatives, and when negated it is by *לֹא*, like indicatives, and not by *אַל*, related to jussives and cohortatives, the Energicus seems to be understood as parallel to the modal functions of the Biblical Hebrew indicatives. One such example is as follows:<sup>30</sup>

- 18) Deut. 16:19 — *לֹא-תִטֶּה מִשְׁפָּט לֹא תִכִּיר פָּנִים וְלֹא-תִקַּח שֹׁדָד* — “You shall not pervert justice; you shall not show partiality; and you shall not take a bribe.”

Ms. St. Petersburg: *וְלֹא תִמְלִין חֲכָמָא וְלֹא תַחֲאֵב אֱלֹוּגָה וְלֹא תִאֲכֹדֵן אֱלֶרְשָׁא*

Energicus forms do not appear in the translation of this verse in the other versions examined. As to its Biblical Hebrew origin, the negation is

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., Fischer 2002, p. 110, §198, p. 118, §215.

<sup>28</sup> See also Wright 1896, p. 61, §97, 1898, p. 24, §14, pp. 41–43, §19, Reckendorf 1921, p. 16, §11, Brockelmann 1913, p. 159, §80, Ambros 1989, Zewi 1999a, pp. 13–63, §2, Zewi 2006.

<sup>29</sup> On these forms in Hebrew see, e.g., Kautzsch 1910, pp. 128–129, §47m, o, pp. 157–158, §58i and Zewi 1999a, pp. 65–155, §3.

<sup>30</sup> See more examples in Zewi 2001.

by **לא** and the Biblical Hebrew verbs are probably regular indicatives, since two of them, **תָּסֵה** and **תִּכִּיר**, are non-shortened forms. Here the translation employs two Energicus forms, **תִּמְלִין** and **תִּאֲכֹדֵן**, and only one *majzūm*, **תִּחַזַּב**. The context of the verse is a prohibition within a Biblical law, of the sort which usually employs the negative Biblical Hebrew particle **לא** followed by an indicative verb, also familiar in other Biblical laws, among them the Decalogue.

### Arabic Complex Tenses and Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Pentateuch

The following are examples containing complex tenses found in Saadya's translation according to the foregoing manuscript and editions. The small numbers of most types of complex tenses attested in the translation allow presentation of all their examples in full or in short references. Most types of complex tenses prove rare in Saadya's translation, and his language as reflected in it according to all versions does not exploit all possibilities available in Classical and Medieval Judeo-Arabic. Since such a reduced use of complex tenses is unusual in Classical and Medieval Judeo-Arabic it should probably be considered the language special to Saadya Gaon, not a general characteristic of Post-Classical Arabic.

### Examples of Complex Tenses in the Translation

The majority of complex-tense types in Arabic contain finite forms of the verb *kāna*, and rarely another auxiliary, combined with suffix and prefix conjugation verbs. In certain patterns these are joined by the particle *qad*. The following subsections deal with each of these types separately.

*kāna qad qatala* for past perfect

Past perfect in Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch might also be expressed in narrative in Saadya's translation solely by the combination of *qad* and a suffix conjugation verb, *qad qatala*. As suggested below, *qad qatala* is very probably widely used and mainly intended for immediate past perfect, while the complex use of *kāna qad qatala*, exemplified farther on, is meant for more distant past perfect.<sup>31</sup> Still, these two types also differ in distribution. *qad qatala* is very common in Saadya's translation but the complex *kāna qad qatala* is very rarely used in all its versions, appearing in only

<sup>31</sup> On *qad qatala* see below §6.

ten examples in narrative. In one case, Gen. 41:10 below, it is found in Derenbourg edition but not in Ḥasīd edition or in the London Polyglot, which omits the particle *qad* (in Ms. St. Petersburg this example is not preserved). In Gen. 26:18 and Exod. 13:19 below, the complex is found in Ḥasīd edition but not in Derenbourg edition or in the London Polyglot. In Gen. 48:10 it appears in Ḥasīd edition and the London polyglot, and not in Derenbourg edition (again, these examples are not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg). The examples are as follows.

- 19) Gen. 24:62 — וַיֵּצֵק בָּא מְבוֹא בְּאֵר לְחַי רֹאִי וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב בְּאֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב — “Now Isaac had come from Beer-la’hai-roi, and was dwelling in the Negeb.” — וּכְאֵן אִסְחָק קָד גֵּא פִי מְגִיָּה מִן אֱלִבִּיר אֱלִתִּי לִלְחִי אֱלִנְאֲטִר וְהוּ — “This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot employs a different vocabulary yet maintains the *kāna qad qatala* pattern: وَكَانَ إِسْحَاقُ قَدْ قَدَّمَ مِنْ سَفَرَتِهِ.
- 20) Gen. 26:15 — וְכָל-הַבְּאֵרֹת אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ עֲבָדֵי אָבִיו בְּיָמֵי אֲבִרְהָם אָבִיו סָתְמוּם — פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּמְלְאוּם עֹפֶר — “(Now the Philistines had stopped and filled with earth all the wells which his father’s servants had dug in the days of Abraham his father.)” — וְגִמְיעַ אֱלֵאבָאֵר אֱלִתִּי חִפְרָהָ עֲבִיד אֲבִיהָ — “This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot employs a different word order but maintains the *kāna qad qatala* pattern: كَانَ الْفَلَسْطِيُّونَ قَدْ سَدُّوْهَا.
- 21) Gen. 26:18 — וַיִּסְתְּמוּם פְּלִשְׁתִּים אַחֲרֵי מוֹת אֲבִרְהָם וַיִּקְרָא לָהֶן שְׁמוֹת כְּשִׁמְתָּן — אֲשֶׁר-קָרָא לָהֶן אָבִיו — “For the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham; and he gave them the names which his father had given them.” — וּכְאֵן קָד סָדְהָא אֱלִפְלִסְטִינִין בַּעַד מוֹתָהּ וּסְמָאָהָ בְּאִסְמָא — “This example is cited according to Ḥasīd edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg and since Derenbourg edition employs here only suffix conjugation verbs: וּסְדָהָא אֱלִפְלִסְטִינִין בַּעַד מוֹתָהּ וּסְמָאָהָ בְּאִסְמָא כְּמָא סְמָאָהָ אֲבִרְהָם אֲבוֹהָ. The version in the London Polyglot is similar to Derenbourg edition.
- 22) Gen. 31:19 — וְלָבָן הִלֵּךְ לְגֹזֵז אֶת-צֹאֲנוֹ וַתִּגְנֹב רָחֵל אֶת-הַתְּרָפִים אֲשֶׁר לְאֵבִיהָ — “Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and Rachel stole her father’s household gods.” — וּכְאֵן לָבָן קָד מְצִי לִיגֹז גִּנְמָה פִּאֲכַפֵּת רָחֵל אֱלִתְמַתָּאֵל —

- אלדי לאביהא. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.
- 23) Gen. 31:25 — וַיֵּשֶׁג לָבָן אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹב תָּקַע אֶת־אֶהָלוֹ בְּהָר — “And Laban overtook Jacob. Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the hill country...” — תם לחק לבן יעקוב וכאן יעקוב קד צ'רב כבאה פי אלגבל. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.
- 24) Gen. 41:10 — פָּרַעַה קִצֵּף עַל־עַבְדָּיו וַיִּתֵּן אֹתִי בְּמִשְׁמֶר בֵּית שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים אֹתִי — “Pharaoh was angry with his servants, and put me in custody in the house of the captain of the guard, me and the chief baker.” — פד'לך אן פרעון כאן קד סכ'ט עלי עבדיה פוצ'עהמא פי חפט' בית רייס אלסיאפין אנא ורייס אלכ'באזין. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. In Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot the translation does not include the verb כאן קד סכ'ט...: וד'אלך אן פרעון קד סכ'ט...: כָּאן / וְזֶלֶק אֲן פִּרְעֹן קָד סַחֲטָה.
- 25) Gen. 48:10 — וַעֲיַיִן יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּבִדּוּ מִזָּקֵן — “Now the eyes of Israel were dim with age.” — וכאנתא עיני אסראיל קד ת'קלתא מן אלשיכ'וכ'ה. This example is cited according to Ḥasīd edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg, and since Derenbourg edition, whose version is ועינא אסראיל קד ת'קלתא מן אלשיכ'וכ'ה, does not employ the verb כאן in this case. The London Polyglot also employs this pattern: וְכָאֲנֹת עֵינֵינָא יִשְׂרָאֵל קָד תְּקַלְתָּא.
- 26) Exod. 13:19 — כִּי הִשְׁבַּעַת הַשְּׁבִיעַ אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל — “For Joseph had solemnly sworn the people of Israel.” — לאנה כאן קד אחלה בני אסראיל. This example is cited according to Ḥasīd edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg, and since Derenbourg edition, whose version is לאנה אחלה בני אסראיל, does not employ the verb כאן in this case. The London Polyglot is similar to Derenbourg edition.
- 27) Exod. 18:2 — וַיֵּקַח יִתְרוֹ חֹתֵן מֹשֶׁה אֶת־צִפּוֹרָה אִשְׁת מֹשֶׁה אַחֵר שְׁלוּחֶיהָ — “Now Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, had taken Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her away.” — פאכד יתרו חמו מוסי צפרא זוגתה. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition. Derenbourg edition has another version with a suffix conjugation only, בעד מא בעת' בהא אליה..., which avoids the complex tense. The London Polyglot is similar to Ms. St. Petersburg and Ḥasīd edition but does not employ the *kāna qad qatala* pattern: بَعَدَ مَا أُرْسِلَهَا إِلَيْهِ.

- 28) Num. 12:1 — **וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן בְּמֹשֶׁה עַל־אִשְׁתּוֹ הַכְּשִׁייתָ אֲשֶׁר לָקַח** — **כִּי־אִשָּׁה כְּשִׁית לָקַח** — “Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite woman.” — **תְּכַלְמַת מִרְיָם וְהָרֹן בְּמוֹסִי בִּסְבָּב אֱלֹמְרָאָה**. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.

*kāna qad qatala* in conditional clauses

In six examples *kāna qad qatala* appears in conditional clauses, three in the apodosis of hypothetical conditional clauses expressing future perfect, and three in the protasis of real conditional clauses where it expresses present perfect. In one of these examples, Num. 5:27 below, *kāna* probably reflects a finite form of the verb of existence הָיָה, which is found in the Hebrew source. The examples are as follows.

Apodosis of hypothetical conditional clauses

- 29) Gen. 31:42 — **לֹא־לִי אֱלֹהִים אֲבִי אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹרָהִם וּפָחַד יִצְחָק הָיָה לִי כִּי עָתָה רִיקָם שְׁלַחְתָּנִי** — “If the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had not been on my side, surely now you would have sent me away empty-handed.” — **לֹא־לֵא אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִי אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹרָהִים וּפֹעַ אֲסַחֵק כֹּאֵן לִי עֻנָּא לְכַנַּת אֱלֹאֵן קִד אֲטַלְקָתִי פֹאֲרָגָא**. A similar version appears in the London Polyglot. Derenbourg edition exhibits a different word order: **לִקִּד כִּנַּת אֲטַלְקָתִי**. Ḥasīd edition does not employ here the particle קִד and its version is: **כִּנַּת אֱלֹאֵן אֲטַלְקָתִי פֹאֲרָגָא**.
- 30) Gen. 43:10 — **כִּי לֹא־הָתַמְהָמְנוּ כִּי־עָתָה שָׁבוּ זֶה פַּעַמִּים** — “For if we had not delayed, we would now have returned twice.” — **לֹא־אֵנָּה תִּלְבַּתְנָא לְכֻנָּא קִד רִגְעֻנָּא מִרְתִּין**. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot.
- 31) Num. 22:29 — **לֹא יִשְׁחָרֵב בְּיָדִי כִּי עָתָה הִרְגֵּיתִיךָ** — “I wish I had a sword in my hand, for then I would kill you.” — **וְלֹא־אֵן כֹּאֵן פִּי יָדִי סִיף לְכַנַּת קִד קַתְלַתְךָ**. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in the London Polyglot. This complex tense does not appear in Ḥasīd edition, which has only a prefix conjugation verb: **פִּי יָדִי סִיף לְקַתְלַתְךָ**.

## Protasis of real conditional clauses

- 32) Num. 5:20 — וְאִתָּךְ כִּי שָׁטִית תַּחַת אִישֶׁךָ — “But if you have gone astray...” — וְאִן כֹּנֵת קִדְּ חֲדַת אֱלִי גִיר זֹנֵךְ. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.
- 33) Num. 5:27 — וְהִיָּתָה אִם-נִטְמָאָה — “If she has defiled herself...” — פֶּאן כֹּאנֵת קִדְּ תִנְסֵת. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.
- 34) Num. 30:11 — וְאִם-בֵּית אִשָּׁה נִדְרָה — “And if she has vowed in her husband’s house...” — וְאִן כֹּאנֵת קִדְּ נִדְרֵת פִּי בֵית בַּעֲלָהָ. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition. Ḥasīd edition and the London Polyglot are without קִדְּ: וְאִן כֹּאן פִּי בֵית זֹנְגָה נִדְרֵת: *وَأِنْ كَانَتْ نَذَرَتْ / وَأَنْ كَانَ فِي بَيْتِ زَوْجِهَا نَذَرَتْ: فِي بَيْتِ بَعْلِهَا*.

*yakūnu qad qatala*

In three examples *yakūnu qad qatala* is employed to express potential acts, events, or states; two of them are accompanied by other phrases which express a similar meaning, יִמְכֵּן and יִגֹּן.

- 35) Gen. 44:31 — וְהָיָה כִּי-אֵין הִנָּעַר נִמָּת וְהוֹרִידוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ אֶת-שִׁיבַת עֲבָדֶיךָ — אֲבִינוּ בִּיגֹן שְׂאֵלָה פֶּכֶמָּא יִרִי אָנָּה לִיס מַעֲנָא יָמוּת וִיכֹן — “When he sees that the lad is not with us, he will die; and your servants will bring down the gray hairs of your servant our father with sorrow to Sheol.” — עֲבָדֶיךָ קִדְּ אֲנֹלוּ שִׁיבָה עֲבָדְךָ אֲבִיהֶם בַּחֲסָרָה אֱלִי אֲלֹתֵרִי. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition and in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot has a different version, without the *yakūnu qad qatala* pattern: *وَيُحْدِثُوا عَيْبُكَ*.
- 36) Deut. 15:18 — לֹא-יִקָּשֶׁה בְּעֵינֶיךָ בְּשַׁלְּחֶךָ אֹתוֹ חֶפְשִׁי מֵעִמָּךְ כִּי מִשְׁנֶה שָׂכָר שָׂכִיר — עֲבָדֶיךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים — “It shall not seem hard to you, when you let him go free from you; for at half the cost of a hired servant he has served you six years.” — [ולא יצעב עליך אטלאקן]<sup>32</sup> לֵה חֲרָא מִן עֲנֹדְךָ פֶּאנָּה יִגֹּן אֵן — יִכֹּן קִדְּ כַדְמֵךְ צִעַף מָא יִסְאוּי אֲנֹר אֲלֹאגִיר פִּי סַת סִנִּין. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.
- 37) Deut. 22:27 — כִּי בִשְׂדֵה מִצָּאָה צָעָקָה הִנָּעַר הַנְּעָרָה הַמֵּאֲרָשָׁה וְאֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ לָּהּ — “Because he came upon her in the open country, and though the betrothed young woman cried for help there was no one to rescue

<sup>32</sup> This part is missing in Ms. St. Petersburg. The reconstruction is according to Derenbourg edition.

ואד וגדהא פי אלצחרא פימכן אן תכון קד צרכת פלם יכן להא מן — her.” A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.

*kāna qatala* for past perfect

*kāna qatala* without *qad* appears six times in Saadya's translation, and it probably expresses past perfect in narrative (Gen. 20:18, 36:2, 50:14, Num. 21:26 below) and past simple in direct speech (Gen. 44:19, 50:5). Examples are presented below. The use of כִּאֵן is avoided by Ḥasīd edition in five of these examples—Gen. 20:18, 36:2, 44:19, 50:5, 14 below, as it is by the London Polyglot in four of them, Gen. 44:19 being excepted. In one example, Gen. 36:2 below, Derenbourg edition avoids this verb as well; and in the first example below, Gen. 20:18, Derenbourg edition and likewise the London Polyglot replace *kāna qatala* by *kāna qad qatala*. These findings for the printed editions should probably be interpreted as evidence of a decrease in the use of *kāna qatala* in Middle Judeo-Arabic.

- 38) Gen. 20:18 — כִּי־עָצַר עָצַר ה' בְּעַד כָּל־רַחֲם לְבֵית אֲבִימֶלֶךְ עַל־דְּבַר שָׂרָה — אִשֶּׁת אַבְרָהָם לֹא־נָאֵלָה — “For the LORD had closed all the wombs of the house of Abimelech because of Sarah, Abraham's wife.” — כִּאֵן תוועד בחבס כל רחם מן אל אבימלך בסבב סארה זוגה אברהים. Derenbourg edition and the London Polyglot have כִּאֵן קד תוועד / כִּאֵן / כִּאֵן קד תוועד and Ḥasīd edition only קד and a suffix conjugation verb: לֹא־נָאֵלָה קד תוועד.
- 39) Gen. 36:2 — עֵשָׂו לָקַח אֶת־נָשָׁיו מִבְּנוֹת כְּנָעַן — “Esau had taken his wives from the Canaanites.” — וכִּאֵן עשו תווג בנסא מן בנאת כנעאן. Derenbourg edition: כִּאֵן עשו קד תווג בנסא מן בנאת כנעאן without כִּאֵן. Ḥasīd edition employs only a suffix conjugation verb: וד'אלך אן עשו, and the London Polyglot employs the *kāna qad qatala* pattern: וְכָאֵן הָעֵיֶשׂ קָד תְּרֹוֹג יִנְסֵא מִן בְּנֹת כְּנַעַן.
- 40) Gen. 44:19 — אֲדֹנִי שָׂאֵל אֶת־עַבְדִּי לֵאמֹר הֲיֵשׁ־לָכֶם אָב אוֹ־אָח — “My lord asked his servants, saying, ‘Have you a father, or a brother?’ ...” — כִּאֵן סידי (! סאל עבידה קאילא הל מווגד לכם אבא או אך — A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition and in the London Polyglot. Ḥasīd edition turns the verb כִּאֵן into a completely different prepositional phrase באן סידי סאל עבידה...: באן.
- 41) Gen. 50:5 — אָבִי הִשְׁבִּיעַנִי לֵאמֹר — “My father made me swear.” — אָבִי כִּאֵן אסתחלפני. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edi-



tion, but in Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot **כאן** does not appear in the translation, which is: **إِنَّ أَبِي اسْتَحْلَفَنِي / אֵן אָבִי אַחֲלַפְנִי**.

- 42) Gen. 50:14 — **וַיָּשָׁב יוֹסֵף מִצְרָיִמָּה הוּא וְאָחָיו וְכָל-הָעָלְמִים אֲתוּ לְקַבֵּר אֶת-אָבִיו** — **אַחֲרֵי קָבְרוּ אֶת-אָבִיו** — “After he had buried his father, Joseph returned to Egypt with his brothers and all who had gone up with him to bury his father.” — **תָּם רָגַע יוֹסֵף אֵלֵי מִצְרַיִם הוּא וְאָחָיו וְכָל-הָעָלְמִים** — **כָּאֵן צַעַד מֵעַה לִּידְפֹן אָבִיָּה בַּעֲדָמָה דַּפְנָה**. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition. In Ḥasīd edition **כאן** does not appear in the translation, which is: **וּגְמִיעַ מִן צַעַד מֵעַה**, and in the London Polyglot only **כָּאֵן מֵעַה** appears without **צעד**.
- 43) Num. 21:26 — **כִּי חֲשַׁבּוֹן עִיר סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹרִי הוּא וְהוּא נִלְחָם בְּמֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב** — **הָרֶאשׁוֹן** — “For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab.” — **וְדָלֶךְ אֵן חֲשַׁבּוֹן הִי מִנְבֵּר סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹמֹרִיִּין וְהוּ כָּאֵן חֲאָרֵב מֶלֶךְ מֹאָב אֱלֹאֵל**. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, in Ḥasīd edition, and in the London Polyglot.

*kāna qatala* in conditional clauses

*kāna qatala* without *qad* appears once in Saadya's translation, in the protasis of a conditional clause.

- 44) Num. 22:20 — **וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִם-לִקְרָא לָךְ בָּאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים קוּם לָךְ אִתָּם** — “...and said to him, ‘If the men have come to call you, rise, go with them.’” — **וְקֹאֵל לֵה אֵן כָּאֵן הָאֹלֵי אֱלֹקִים גִּאוּ לִידְעוֹךְ פֶּקֶם אֲמִי מֵעַה**. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot.

*kāna lam yaqtul*

*kāna lam yaqtul* appears three times in the protasis of a real conditional clause, as follows.

- 45) Lev. 13:55 — **וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אַחֲרֵי הַכֹּהֵן אֶת-הַנֶּגַע וְהָנָה לֹא-הִפָּךְ הַנֶּגַע אֶת-עֵינוֹ** — **וְהָנָה לֹא-פָשָׁה טָמֵא הוּא** — “And the priest shall examine the diseased thing after it has been washed. And if the diseased spot has not changed color, though the disease has not spread, it is unclean.” — **תָּם יִנְטְרָה אֱלֹמֹמֵם בַּעַד מֹא גִסַּל פֶּאֵן כָּאֵן לֵם יִנְקֻלֵּב לִוְנָה וְלֵם יִתְפֹּשׁ פֶּהוּ** — **גִּיֵּס**. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it

is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot.

- 46) Num. 5:19 — אִם-לֹא שָׁכַב אִישׁ אֶתְךָ וְאִם-לֹא שָׁטִית טְמֵאָה תַּחַת אִישׁךָ — “If no man has lain with you, and if you have not turned aside to uncleanness, while you were under your husband’s authority.” אֵן כֹּאן לֵם. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, in Ḥasīd edition, and in the London Polyglot.
- 47) Num. 5:28 — וְאִם-לֹא נִטְמְאָה הָאִשָּׁה — “But if the woman has not defiled herself...” — וְאֵן כֹּאנֵת לֵם תִּתְנַסֵּס. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition and in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot has only וְאֵן לֵם תִּתְנַסֵּס.

### *kāna yaqtulu*

The relatively most common complex tense with *kāna* in Saadya’s translation is *kāna yaqtulu*. It appears sixteen times in the translation, one of them, Gen. 2:10, only in Ḥasīd edition. As elsewhere in Arabic, this complex tense expresses continuous or habitual past. Ms. St. Petersburg always shares this version with Derenbourg edition and Ḥasīd edition, and also with the London Polyglot, with three exceptions: Gen. 2:5, 6:4, 50:3. It can probably be safely concluded that this use was popular in all layers of Judeo-Arabic represented in the versions examined, and its use has not in fact diminished over time. Examples are as follows.

- 48) Gen. 2:5 — וְאָדָם אֵין לַעֲבֹד אֶת-הָאָדָמָה — “And there was no man to till the ground.” — וְלֹא אָנְסָאן כֹּאן יַפְלַחְהָא. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition and in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot deviates from the *kāna yaqtulu* pattern by breaking it with the particle *li*, which turns the second part into a final clause: وَلَا إِنْسَانٌ كَانَ لِيَفْلَحَ الْأَرْضَ, but it maintains the *kāna yaqtulu* pattern in the next example, Gen. 2:6.
- 49) Gen. 2:6 — וְאָדָם יַעֲלֶה מִן-הָאָרֶץ וְהִשְׁקָהּ אֶת-כָּל-פְּנֵי-הָאָדָמָה — “...but a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground.” — וְלֹא<sup>33</sup> בִּכְאָר כֹּאן יַצְעֵד מִנְהָא פִּיסְקִי גַמִּיעַ וְגִהֵהָא. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, in Ḥasīd edition without a negative particle, and in the London Polyglot.

<sup>33</sup> On the peculiar position of the negative particle in this verse, see Derenbourg edition, p. 7, note 3.

- 50) Gen. 2:10 — וְנָהָר יֵצֵא מֵעֵדֶן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת-הַגֶּן — “A river flowed out of Eden to water the garden.” — וְכֵן נָהָר יֵצֵא מִן עֵדֶן לְיִסְקֵי אֲלֵגָאן. This example is cited according to Ḥasīd edition since the verb כָּאן does not appear in Ms. St. Petersburg or in Derenbourg edition, whose version is: וְנָהָר יֵצֵא. The London Polyglot also presents another version, with the verb وَجَعَلَ نَهْرًا يَخْرُجُ: كَانَ جَعَلَ instead of وَجَعَلَ.
- 51) Gen. 6:4 — וְגַם אַחֲרֵי-כֵן אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל-בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם — “...and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men.” — וְבַעַד ד' לך איצ'א כאנו ידכ'לון בנו אלאשראף אלי בנאת אלעאמה. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot employs instead a suffix conjugation verb: دَخَلُوا.
- 52) Gen. 30:41 — וְהָיָה בְּכָל-יָחִים הַצֹּאן הַמִּקְשָׁרוֹת וְשֶׁם יַעֲקֹב אֶת-הַמִּקְלוֹת לְעֵינָיו — “Whenever the stronger of the flock were breeding Jacob laid the rods in the runnels before the eyes of the flock, that they might breed among the rods.” — וְכֵן יַעֲקֹב פִּי כָל וְקָת וְחָאם אֲלֵגָם אֲלֵרְבִיעִיָּה יֵצִיר אֲלֵעֲצִי חֲדָאָה פִּי אֲלֵחֵאָן לְתַתּוּחַם עֲלֵיָּהָ. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot. The use of the verb כָּאן here might be influenced by the use of וְהָיָה in Hebrew, though the Hebrew does not show in this case the pattern of an auxiliary + a prefix conjugation verb as does the Arabic.
- 53) Gen. 47:22 — וְאָכְלוּ אֶת-חֶקֶם אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָהֶם פַּרְעֹה — “...and lived on the allowance which Pharaoh gave them.” — פִּכְאָנוּ יֵאֲכָלוּ רוּחַ פַּרְעֹה. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot.
- 54) Gen. 50:3 — כֵּן יִמְלָאוּ יְמֵי הַחַיִּים — “For so many are required for embalming.” — לֵאן כִּדָּאךְ כֵּאֲנָת תְּכַמֵּל אֵיָּאם אֲלֵמַחְנִטִּין. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition and in Ḥasīd edition. The London Polyglot does not include the verb כָּאן.
- 55) Exod. 16:21 — וַיִּלָּקְטוּ אוֹתוֹ בִּבְקָר בִּבְקָר אִישׁ כַּפִּי אֲכָלוּ — “Morning by morning they gathered it, each as much as he could eat.” — וְכֵאֲנוּ יִלְקִטוּנָה פִּי כָל גִּדָּאָה כָּל רִגְלָ עֲלֵי קִדָּר עֵיָּאֵלָה. A similar version appears in Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and the London Polyglot.
- 56) Exod. 33:7 — וּמֹשֶׁה יָקַח אֶת-הָאֹהֶל וַנִּטָּה-לוֹ מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה — “Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp.” — וְכֵאֲן מוֹסֵי-

”אכִּד אלכִּבא פיצִרבה כִּארגִ אלעסכר. This is the version in Derenbourg edition and similarly Ḥasīd edition and the London Polyglot. Ms. St. Petersburg employs another pattern here which emphasizes the habitual tense: כבאה פיצרבה: וכאן סביל מוסי אן יאכד כבאה פיצרבה: כארג אלעסכר.<sup>34</sup>

Other examples, all conveying similar versions in all four editions, are Gen. 4:2, 36:24, 37:2, 37:3, 39:22, Exod. 3:1, Deut. 11:10.

#### *kāna yaqtulu* in conditional clauses

Once *kāna yaqtulu* appears in the protasis of a real conditional clause, as follows.

- 57) Gen. 47:6 — וְאִם-יָדַעְתָּ וְיָשׁ-בָם אֲנָשִׁי-חֵיל וְשִׁמְתָם שָׂרֵי מִקְנֶה עַל-אֲשֶׁר-לִי — “And if you know any able men among them, put them in charge of my cattle.” — ואן כנת תעלם אן פיהם ד׳ו חיל פצירהם רוסא וכלא עלי מאשתי. This example is cited according to Derenbourg edition since it is not preserved in Ms. St. Petersburg. A similar version appears in Ḥasīd edition and in the London Polyglot.

#### *ṣāra yaqtulu*

Finally, *ṣāra yaqtulu*, which expresses habitual past, appears only once.

- 58) Exod. 18:26 — וְשִׁפְטוּ אֶת-הָעָם בְּכָל-עֵת — “And they judged the people at all times.” — פצארו יחכמון בין אלקום פי כל וקת. All versions display the verb צאר here: the London Polyglot has this version, Derenbourg edition has יחכמון אלקום פצאר, and Ḥasīd edition has וצארו יחכמו.

#### The functions of *qad qatala*

The Arabic particle *qad* followed by a suffix conjugation verb primarily indicates perfect, and therefore should be regarded as some sort of special Arabic tense carrying an aspectual nuance. This role is recognized and indi-

<sup>34</sup> The continuation of this verse, וְהָיָה כָּל-מִבְקֶשׁ ה' יֵצֵא, “And every one who sought the LORD would go out”, is rendered in all versions examined by a combination of *kāna* and *yaqtulu*: וכאן כל מן טלב אללה יכרג in Ms. St. Petersburg, פכאן כל מן טלב אללה יכרג in Derenbourg edition, וכאן כל מן טלב עלמא מן ענד אללה יכרג in Ḥasīd edition, and וكان كل طالب ما عند الله يخرج in the London Polyglot, but these all seem only to reflect the Hebrew structure, which involves וְהָיָה and יֵצֵא, and are not the regular *kāna yaqtulu*.

cated in Classical Arabic grammars.<sup>35</sup> Less clear is which types of perfect appear in certain contexts. Moreover, *qad qatala* assumes other roles as well, although less often. This phrase is not exactly a complex tense like all the complex tenses discussed above, since it does not comprise an auxiliary verb. Still, it seems to function as a special tense which mostly conveys the aspectual nuance of a perfect. Its wide distribution in Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch, especially in this role, certainly justifies an examination in this paper of its meaning and use.

The combination of *qad* and *qatala* is very common in all the examined sources of Saadya Gaon's translation, which usually share a similar version.<sup>36</sup> The most prominent questions regarding the examples are whether *qad qatala* expresses perfect or other meanings, and when it does, whether it is past perfect or present perfect. The most helpful observation from study of the examples is that they are best classified into two groups: one of direct speech and the other of narrative.

In direct speech the examples of *qad qatala* do indeed mostly express present perfect. They usually refer to events and acts that occurred at an unspecified time, or began at an earlier point in time or during the time of the speech, and still continue to be in effect at the time of speech. By contrast, the cases of *qad qatala* in narrative seem to express mostly past perfect. The narrative itself is told in 3<sup>rd</sup> person and in past tense. When *qad qatala* appears in a sequence of narrative clauses it usually breaks the time line and draws the story to an earlier past, or it refers to continuous events or actions partially contemporaneous with the narrative tense. Thus, it is probably best explained as past perfect.

Nonetheless, the question of the difference between the complex tense *kāna qad qatala* and *qad qatala* without *kāna* still remains. A possible explanation is that when simply *qad qatala* is in use it is mainly intended for immediate past perfect, while the complex tense of *kāna qad qatala* is intended for a more distant past perfect.<sup>37</sup> Examples are as follows.

Direct speech:

The most common use and meaning of *qad qatala* in direct speech are to express present perfect. Several examples conveying this option are as follows.

<sup>35</sup> See Wright 1898, pp. 3–4, §2, Reckendorf 1921, pp. 300–301, §155, and Fischer 2002, p. 106, §189.

<sup>36</sup> The examples below are cited only according to Ms. St. Petersburg, since all versions are so alike in this matter. Indication of other versions with *qad*, missing in Ms. St. Petersburg due to its poor condition, may add examples here and there, but will not change the whole picture and conclusions.

<sup>37</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Olga Kapeliuk for suggesting this explanation to me.

In the first example a bow is still visible in the sky in the time of speech:

- 59) Gen. 9:13 — אֶת־קִשְׁתִּי נָתַתִּי בְּעָנָן וְהָיְתָה לְאוֹת בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵין הָאָרֶץ —  
 “I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth.” — קוֹסִי קֵד תִּבְתַּתְהָא פִּי אֵלְגָמָאם וּתְצִיר  
 עֲלֵאמָה עֵהָד בֵּינִי וּבֵין אֵלְאָרֶץ

In the second example Sarah mentions her becoming old, which is obviously not a punctual state:

- 60) Gen. 18:13 — וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֶל־אַבְרָהָם לָמָּה זֶה צָחָקָה שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר הָאֵף אֲמָנָם  
 וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֶל־אַבְרָהָם לָמָּה זֶה צָחָקָה שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר הָאֵף אֲמָנָם — אֵלֹד וְאֵי זָקְנִיתִי  
 לֵאמֹר ה' אֶל־אַבְרָהָם לָמָּה זֶה צָחָקָה שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר הָאֵף אֲמָנָם — “The LORD said to Abraham, ‘Why did Sarah laugh, and say, ‘Shall I indeed bear a child, now that I have become old?’” — פִּקְאֵל אֵלְלָה לְאַבְרָהָם לָם צָחַכְתָּ סָאָרָה קֵאִילָה אִיקִינָא אֵלֹד וְקֵד  
 שְׁכַת

The third example refers to Pharaoh’s appointment of Joseph, which again refers to a continuing state.

- 61) Gen. 41:41 — וַיֹּאמֶר פַּרְעֹה אֶל־יוֹסֵף רְאֵה נָתַתִּי אֹתְךָ עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם —  
 “And Pharaoh said to Joseph, ‘Behold, I have set you over all the land of Egypt.’” — תָּם קֵאל לָהּ אֲנֹסֶר קֵד וּלִיתֵךְ גַּמִּיעַ בְּלֹד מִצְרַיִם

The last example demonstrating *qad qatala* in a present perfect role is an enduring promise uttered by God:

- 62) Num. 33:53 — וְהוֹרַשְׁתֶּם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וּשְׁבַתֶּם־בָּהּ כִּי לָכֵם נָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ —  
 “And you shall take possession of the land and settle in it, for I have given the land to you to possess it.” — וְאֵדָא קֵרְצִימֹוּהֶם  
 אֲסַכְנוּ אֲלִבְלֹד פִּאֲנִי קֵד אַעֲטִיתֶכֶם אִיאָה

Other examples displaying this role are Gen. 42:2, 44:20, Exod. 3:7, 10:16, 16:28, 32:9, and there are many more, since this is the most ordinary role of *qad qatala*. Nonetheless, in a small number of cases the use of *qad* appears to express affirmation. This is the case in the following examples in which Sarah insists on her version of the events:

- 63) Gen. 18:15 — וְתִכְחַשׁ שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר לֹא צָחָקְתִּי כִּי יֵרָאֶה וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא כִּי צָחָקְתָּ —  
 “But Sarah denied, saying, ‘I did not laugh’; for she was afraid. He said, ‘No, but you did laugh.’” — פִּגְחַדַּת סָאָרָה קֵאִילָה לָם אֲצִיחַךְ מִמָּא  
 כֹּאפַת פִּקְאֵל לֹא בִל קֵד צָחַכְתָּ

A statement regarding an astonishing incident consists of the specific time adverb אָמֶשׁ, which clearly does not suit present perfect, in the following example:

- 64) Gen. 19:34 — וַיְהִי מִמָּחָרֹת וַתֹּאמֶר הַבְּכִירָה אֶל־הַצְעִירָה הֵן־שָׁכַבְתִּי אִמְשׁ אֵת — “And on the next day, the first-born said to the younger, ‘Behold, I lay last night with my father.’” — פלמא כאן מן גד קאלת אלכברי ללצגרי הא אנא קד צ’אנעת אמס אבי

Other examples are Deut. 13:15,<sup>38</sup> Deut. 27:8, 27:9. This role is very rare, and found only in these examples. Another uncommon use of *qad qatala* is in the apodosis of a conditional clause; this appears in four examples: Num. 30:12, 30:15, 30:16, 32:23.

Narrative:

*qad qatala* is regularly used as a translation of the Hebrew suffix conjugation, namely *qatala* verbs, and only occasionally translates participle or *wayyiqtol* verbs. The use of Hebrew *qatala* verbs is in itself usually explained as expressing a deviation from the main course of the narrative, to express past perfect, marginal information, contrast, etc.<sup>39</sup> Translation by *qad qatala* should be regarded as expressing similar meanings in Arabic, and it is usually analogous to the roles of a past perfect in languages in which this tense exists. Examples are as follows. The English RSV translation of these examples mostly by a past perfect conforms very well with the role of *qad qatala* in expressing the earlier of two past actions or events.

- 65) Gen. 16:4 — וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָגָר וַתְּהַר וַתֵּרָא כִּי הָרְתָהּ וַתִּקַּל וַגְּבִרְתָּהּ בְּעֵינֶיהָ — “And he went in to Hagar, and she conceived; and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked with contempt on her mistress.” — פדכל אלי הגר פחמלת פלמא ראת אנהא קד חמלת האנת סידתהא ענדהא
- 66) Gen. 19:28 — וַיִּשְׁקֹף עַל־פְּנֵי סֹדֶם וְעַמּוּרָה וְעַל־כָּל־פְּנֵי אֶרֶץ הַכְּפֹר וַיֵּרָא וַהֲנֵה — “And he looked down toward Sodom and Gomorrah and toward all the land of the valley, and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the land went up like the smoke of a furnace.”<sup>40</sup> — פאשרף עלי וגה סדם ועמורה וסאיר ארץ אלמרג פנט’ר פאדא קד צעד דכאנהא כקתאר אלאנתון
- 67) Gen. 31:22 — וַיִּגַּד לְלָבָן בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי כִּי בָרַח יַעֲקֹב — “When it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob had fled...” — פאכבר לבן פי אליום אלתאלת אנ יעקובא קד אנצרף

<sup>38</sup> This example with similar translation recurs in Deut. 17:4.

<sup>39</sup> Rainey 2003b, Zevit 1998, Joüon & Muraoka 2006, pp. 362–363, §118da, Zewi 2007, pp. 12–13, §1.3, and more references there.

<sup>40</sup> The *qatala* verb in this verse expresses a situation which started in the immediate past and continued to the time of the event, expressed by the prefix conjugation verb וַיֵּרָא.

- 68) Gen. 34:5 — וַיַּעֲקֹב שָׁמַע כִּי טָמְאָה אֶת־דִּינָה בְּתוֹ — “Now Jacob heard that he had defiled his daughter Dinah.” — וסמע יעקוב אנה קד גס דינה אבנתה

Other examples are Gen. 39:15, Exod. 2:11,<sup>41</sup> 32:1, 39:43, Num. 21:1, Deut. 24:7, and many more.

## Final Words

Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch reveals his true understanding of the usage of tenses in Biblical Hebrew. Alongside the more obvious translations of past and future it is also sensitive to aspectual nuances like past perfect, present perfect, or continuous past, and inasmuch as can be observed in the translation, also to certain modal nuances. Though a distinction between Arabic indicatives and jussives is not transparent in the translation due to a diminished use of jussives, and perhaps also some inconsistency in their use or certain writing conventions, some sensitivity to modal nuances is still observed.

Attuned as he is to the great range of the Biblical Hebrew tenses, including their special nuances, Saadya exploits surprisingly little the variety of complex tenses involving an auxiliary verb available in Classical, Post Classical, and Middle Arabic for expressing broader nuances of time and aspect. This circumstance should probably be seen as due to a personal choice and as a special feature of Saadya's language in his translation and not as a general language characteristic.

Although complex tenses are rare in all examined versions of Saadya's translation, they evince minor variations in a few types of complex tenses. The complex tenses *kāna qad katala* and *kāna qatala* are indeed rare in Ms. St. Petersburg, but even more so in its examined printed editions, especially Ḥasīd edition and the London Polyglot, especially concerning *kāna qatala*. In addition, while almost all complex tenses are truly uncommon in Saadya's translation, the use of *kāna yaqtulu* is attested more regularly. It also shows relative consistency in all versions examined, though it is some-

<sup>41</sup> In Exod. 2:11 — וַיֵּהִי בַיָּמִים הָהֵם וַיִּגְדַּל מֹשֶׁה וַיֵּצֵא אֶל־אֶחָיו וַיֵּרָא בְּסִבְלָתָם וַיֵּרָא אִישׁ מִצְרִי מַכֶּה אִישׁ — “One day, when Moses had grown up, he went out to his people and looked on their burdens; and he saw an Egyptian beating a Hebrew, one of his people.” — וּלְמָא כָּאן פִּי — בעץ אלאים וקד כבר מוסי כרג אלי אכותה ונטר פי נקלהם ואדא ברגל מצרי יצרב רגלא עבראניא *qad qatala* translates not a *qatala* verb but a *wayyiqtol* verb, which is part of a chain of similar verbs conveying single actions in the past. The use of *qad qatala* for the first one, וַיִּגְדַּל, demonstrates very well Saadya Gaon's appreciation that this verb shows not a single action but a continuous one that precedes genuine single actions expressed by וַיֵּצֵא and וַיֵּרָא.



what more common in Ḥasīd edition and slightly less common in the London polyglot, compared with Ms. St. Petersburg.

*qad qatala* is far more common, and regularly plays a part in the verbal system of Saadya Gaon's translation. Its most prominent roles appear to be present perfect in discourse prose and past perfect in narrative prose.

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# Dual Pronouns in Semitics and an Evaluation of the Evidence for their Existence in Biblical Hebrew

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## Abstract

*In the context of establishing the pronominal dual forms of proto-Semitic, philologists sought for vestiges of such forms in different non-related branches of the Semitic family of languages. This paper starts with an updated reconstruction of the Proto-Semitic's dual pronouns based on all the information at our hands, and consequently examines the evidence proposed in the literature for vestiges of these forms in the biblical consonantal text, especially the most recent support made by Rendsburg. In a list of publications Rendsburg proposed to strengthen this hypothesis by using statistical considerations. This paper will reject his conclusions and will refute his arguments by demonstrating that merely counting examples can be very misleading; either separately counting examples found in the same biblical context with some unique dialectical features falsely increases the number or, far worse, some examples should not even be considered at all since there are other motivations for the use of their peculiar forms.\**

## Introduction

It is well known that special dual forms or their vestiges are rarely found among the Semitic languages outside of the noun realm. Consequently, one

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should ask whether those languages with dual forms in the pronoun and the verbal system reflect the original stage of Proto-Semitic.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, the more similar dual forms we find in different, non-related branches of the Semitic family of languages, with the ability to reconstruct a pro-Semitic form, the higher the chances that they are a reflection of the original stage. Therefore, adherents of the theory that Proto-Semitic had dual forms in nouns, pronouns, and verbs try to provide evidence that, in fact, more languages had these forms. Thus, we should mention that, besides Classical Arabic, cognate forms are found also in Ugratic,<sup>2</sup> Akkadian,<sup>3</sup> Ebla,<sup>4</sup> Ancient North Arabian<sup>5</sup> and Ancient<sup>6</sup> and Modern South Arabian.<sup>7</sup> In addition, in the larger Afroasiatic realm, Egyptian also had such forms.

This is the context in which our discussion is taking place, and in this paper I wish to examine whether there are forms in Biblical Hebrew that can attest to vestiges of old dual pronouns and verbal forms.

As there is no consensus regarding the proto-forms, and in fact all the updated material about this was not gathered together<sup>8</sup> I will start by taking this task (section 1) and only then will move to the question regarding the evidence from Biblical Hebrew (sections 2–3).

<sup>1</sup> An answer in the affirmative would necessitate the assumption that these forms were lost later in most of the other languages, (see, for example, Ewald 1870, §180, p. 475; the addition in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the English translation of Gesenius and Kautzsch 1910, §88g, pp. 246–247 and Beer and Meyer 1952, §43, 2, p. 114) whereas an answer in the negative would entail that those few languages with these forms display a later development generated by the force of different analogies (this was the common idea among most of the earlier Semitic philologists. See *inter alia* Ewald 1827, §178, 3, p. 364 who believed that the dual in general, even in the noun, is a late development in the Semitic languages; Bauer and Leander 1922, §63, p. 513). For a survey of the different opinions, see Fontinoy 1969, pp. 191–192. Another common tool in the literature for this type of discussion is a typological cross-linguistic comparison. In this context it is worth mentioning Renan 1928, pp. 423–425, who argued against the comparison regarding this topic, since each family of languages has a different nature. Although Renan's view and justifications are obviously not accepted today, however, the option of alternative courses of developments should always be kept in mind, as there is nothing that necessitates parallel developments, especially in this type of discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon 1947, 6.6, 6.12, 6.21, 6.22, 6.35 (pp. 25–32); 9.4, 9.11 (pp. 58–64).

<sup>3</sup> Whiting 1972 and 1977; Moran 1973; for the form in Sargonic Akkadian, see Hasselbach 2005, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Fronzaroli 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonald 2004, pp. 506–507; However due to lack of vocalization definite evidence can be found only in the Dadanitic dialect.

<sup>6</sup> Beeston 1962, §21:2–3, p. 23; §37: 3–7; §38:1, pp. 46–47, and also Nebes and Stein 2004, pp. 462–464.

<sup>7</sup> Johnstone 1970, p. 511.

<sup>8</sup> Fontinoy 1969, collected most of the material known to us, however, more information has been revealed since then.

# 1. Vestiges of Independent and Suffix Pronouns in the Different Semitic Languages and a Reconstruction of the Proto-Semitic Forms

Before surveying the data we should note that only Ugaritic and some modern dialects of south Arabian have dual pronouns for 1<sup>st</sup> common dual,<sup>9</sup> and there is a general consensus among scholars that this is probably a later innovation.<sup>10</sup> In addition in all the Semitic languages, dual pronouns are not marked in terms of gender.<sup>11</sup> Let us begin then by collecting the data we have on the dual pronouns:

*See tabel next page*

Based on this information, it is plausible to assume the following paradigm for the pronouns of Proto-Semitic:

	Nominative Independent	Gen (-acc)
2mp	<i>ʔantum[±ū]</i>	<i>-kumū</i>
2fp	<i>ʔantin[±ā/n ~ā]</i>	<i>-kinā</i>
2cd	<i>ʔantumā</i>	<i>-kumī *or -kumay</i>
3mp	<i>sum[±ū]</i>	<i>-sumū</i>
3fp	<i>sin[±ā/n ~ā]</i>	<i>-sinā</i>
3cd	<i>sumā</i>	<i>-sumī *or -sumay</i>

\* This is an exclusive “or”.

The plural forms are based on what is accepted in the comparative Semitic literature.<sup>12</sup> Following the evidence from all the different languages it is clear that the dual forms and the masculine plural forms constitute a minimal pair either with a distinction in the existence or absence of a final vowel or in its quality. But, what was the quality of the final vowel of the dual form? In Arabic the final vowel is clearly /ā/, and the forms in Ugaritic and in most of the dialects of Ancient North Arabian [=ANA],<sup>13</sup> and in

<sup>9</sup> Regarding these forms, see Appleyard 1996, n. 8. It is possible that there is evidence for such forms in Ebla as well, see Fronzaroli 1990, pp. 119–120, 123–123.

<sup>10</sup> Wagner 1952, p. 232. It should be noted that from a typological point of view this distribution is less regular as Siewierska 2004, pp. 95–96 noted that more often languages have dual forms only for the 1<sup>st</sup> person, and not in the “Semitic” distribution.

<sup>11</sup> This is another aspect in which the Semitic languages behave in a non-typical way. Since cross-linguistically gender distinction is marked in the restricted number category. See, Siewierska 2004, pp. 107–110.

<sup>12</sup> For a full account, see *inter alia* Huehnergard 2002, pp. 56–67.

<sup>13</sup> As Macdonald 2004, p. 507 noted, it is impossible to confirm whether the forms *-hm* represent the pronoun *-humā* in Arabic, or a syncretism with the plural masculine pronoun.

Ancient North Arabian			Classical Arabic		Ugaritic	South Arabian		Ebla		Akkadian	
						<i>Modern</i>	<i>Ancient</i>				
Safaitic	Dadanitic	Thamudic B				Mehri	Soqotri	Ḥaḍramatic	Qatabanian	Minaean	Sabaeen
Suff.	Suff.	Suff.	Indp.	Suff.	Suffixes	Suffixes		Indp.	Suff.	Indp.	
3 <sup>rd</sup> cd	-hm	-hmy -hm	humā	- humā	-hm	hxy/i	yhi	-smu -smyn	yhi	-smy	-hmy (ind. hmy)
									-su-ma	šunī(ti)	šunī
										Acc	Dat
										-šunīšim	-šunī(ti)
2 <sup>nd</sup> cd	-km		'antumā	-kumā	-km	axyl/i	ty	ty	-gu-ma-d[n]	Sarg. Akk.	
										sunēti or sumti	kunī
1 <sup>st</sup> cd					-ny	axyl/i	ki	ki	-na-a (ne-a)		

Ebla<sup>14</sup> are compatible with such reconstructions as well. In Ancient South Arabian [=ASA] and in one of the dialect of ANA we have the letter Y and in Akkadian it ends with a vowel, either /ī/ or /ē/ (as the sign NI can be read as either *ni* or *ne*). In the Modern South Arabian dialects (which are not the decedents of the ancient dialects!) we find both variations. Thus, we should start by addressing the question of what the forms in ASA, NSA and Akkadian represent.

In fact for all these languages it is possible to consider the two options: either an original \*ī or an original diphthong \*ay for the following reasons. Regarding Akkadian it is a phonological consideration since an /ī/ in Akkadian can reflect both options.<sup>15</sup> Concerning ASA it is an orthographic question since it is not clear as to how the letter Y should be read, as a consonant or as a vowel;<sup>16</sup> and similarly concerning ANA.<sup>17</sup> Therefore it seems impossible to conclude with the information at our hands between the two options, and this is the reason for leaving both options in the above chart.

Following Hetzron's principle of "archaic heterogeneity", I assume that the fact that we get different group of evidence in the various languages indicates that probably the final vowel of the independent pronoun and that of the genitive suffixes were not the same,<sup>18</sup> and therefore I suggest that the nominative pronoun had /u/ and the genitive had either /i/ or /ay/. In fact, nothing prevents us from suggesting the opposite distribution, as there is no language that 'kept' this proposed distinction. One positive reason reconstruct an /ā/ as the final vowel for the nominative is the fact that in the independent nominative 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns of the other number the final

<sup>14</sup> See Fronzaroli 1990, who suggested that the final *a-a* can in fact indicate a final diphthong.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding Akkadian, Whiting 1972, p. 32 n. 11, following the assumption that it was originally \*ay, suggests that in Assyrian the form would be: *šunēti*, but he does not have evidence for this; Hasselbach 2005, p. 149, n. 8, argues similarly that the dual form in Sargonic Akkadian *su<sub>4</sub>-ni-tu* should be normalised as */sunētil/*. Her normalization relies on the assumption that the original form had a final diphthong \*ay, but since the sign NI itself can be read as both /ni/ or /ne/, (as Hasselbach 2005, p. 106, herself noted) the facts are not conclusive in favor of one of the options.

<sup>16</sup> This is a long debate whether the letter Y should always be read as a consonant (Höfner 1943, §4: 10), or whether it may serves as *mater lectionis* (Leslau 1949, p. 98), and see also Nebes and Stein 2004, pp. 458–459). In fact it should be mentioned that Robin 2001, pp. 552–556, suggested evidence that a Y in these dialects can represent a long /a:/ as well. However Michael Macdonald has informed me (p.c) that this hypothesis has not received general acceptance.

<sup>17</sup> Macdonalds 2004, p. 495. Dadanitic is the only dialect in ANA that shows some indication of *mater lectionis*. However, so far the evidence for the use of Y as an /i/ vowel are not definite see Drewes 1985, pp. 167–170) and in fact the results of the current discussion are crucial for this question.

<sup>18</sup> See also Tropper 2000, p. 228.



vowel is similar to the vowel of the verbal suffix conjugation (which originally was a suffix nominative pronoun), and in the languages with attestations of the final vowel of the dual form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in the suffix conjugation, this vowel is always /ā/.

If this is the case, Professor John Huehnergard (p.c.)<sup>19</sup> believes that there is an advantage to assume that the original ending for the oblique pronoun was \*ay, as in this case there will be a parallel between the case-endings of the nouns and the pronouns [/ā/ for nominative and /ay/ for the oblique case]. In addition it should be mentioned that the dual pronouns in Earlier Egyptian are ended with /j/, which probably indicates the consonant /y/.

Returning to the question that was posed at the beginning of this paper, I believe that the ability to reconstruct such forms based on forms from different branches of the Semitic family of languages strengthens the opinion that indeed there were proto-Semitic forms of the grammatical category of dual pronouns. If indeed these forms reflect the proto-Semitic distribution, it should be highlighted, for the purpose of our next discussion, that the difference between the dual and the plural forms are mostly marked by the vowels (quality or existence). As we will see, this is a crucial fact for the next discussion about the evidence for these forms in Biblical Hebrew.

## 2. Is there Evidence for these Forms in Biblical Hebrew?

The simple answer to this question is clearly negative. However, one should consider the option that these forms existed in Biblical Hebrew, but were not represented in the *Masoraic* vocalisation.<sup>20</sup> This can be expected in our case, since as we learned in the previous discussion in many of the forms the dual and the plural masculine forms were a minimal pair with a single distinction in the final vowel, and, in turn, if this distinction was still kept in Biblical Hebrew then this vowel in some forms should have been later apocopated, and consequently the distinction between the forms has been lost. In light of this possible syncretism, there was no way to distinguish later between the plural masculine forms and the dual forms. Therefore, it might be the case that forms that seem to be plural were originally dual. Clearly, the best support for this suggestion would be examples in which the difference should have been preserved, and only subsequently to explain the other forms by the above explanation.

<sup>19</sup> See also Huehnergard 2004, p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> Ginsberg 1934 is a classical work on how the consonantal text of the bible preserves earlier stage of the language.

Since 1952 the idea that vestiges of these forms are attested in the Bible has been repeatedly suggested, often first accepted, and in most cases later rejected.<sup>21</sup> The proposal is that in the early stage in the case of feminine forms the original distinction between the plural and the dual forms was not merely vocalic, but also indicated by the consonants (/n/ for plural and /m/ for the dual,) and that these are the forms often found in the Bible. Accordingly in numerous biblical occurrences when there are pairs of feminine nouns in the text and there is a lack of agreement — a feminine plural nominal antecedent is co-indexed with a masculine pronoun referring to it or a feminine plural subject has a masculine verb — these should not be regarded as plural with lack of agreement, but rather as representations of the older dual forms agreeing with their dual antecedent.

For examples in Genesis 31:9 we find such forms when Jacob is speaking with his two wives, Lea and Rachel:

”וַיֵּצֵל אֱלֹהִים אֶת־מִקְנֶה אָבִיכֶם וַיִּתֶּן־לִי”

“So God has taken away your father’s livestock and has given them to me.”

In this context we encounter **אָבִיכֶם** instead of the expected grammatical form **אָבִיכֶן**.

Similar forms can be found in many places through the Bible *inter alia*:

”וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה: ‘וַעֲקַת סֹדֶם וְעִמְרָה כִּי רָבָה, וְחַטָּאתָם כִּי כָבְדָה מְאֹד’”

“Then the LORD said, ‘The outcry against Sodom and Gomorrah is so great and their sin so grievous’ (Gen 18:20).

As cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, are referred to as feminine, and, therefore, the plural suffix pronoun at the end of **וְחַטָּאתָם** is explained, accordingly, by the fact that these are a pair of cities.

”וַיְהִי, כִּי־רָאוּ הַמִּילִדֹת אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים, וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם בָּתִּים”

“And because the midwives feared God, he gave them families of their own” (Ex 1:21)

In Exodus 1:15 we are introduced to these two Hebrew midwives named Shiphras and Puah, thereby explaining the use of the masculine pronoun **לָהֶם**.

”הִנֵּה בְתֵי הַבְּתוּלָה וּפִילִגְשָׁהּ, אוֹצִיָּאָה־נָּא אוֹתָם וְעַנּוּ אוֹתָם, וַעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם, הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם”

<sup>21</sup> Couprie 1952, p. 153; Christian 1953, p. 40, explained the ending **יָמוּ** in biblical Hebrew as a dual pronoun; Campbell 1975, p. 65; Fontinoy 1969, pp. 59–60 Cohen 1982.

Look, here is my virgin daughter, and his concubine. I will bring them out to you now, and you can use them and do to them whatever you wish.” (Judges 19:24)

In this example the two characters of the story, the virgin daughter and the concubine, are taken to be the reason for the pronouns **אֹתָם** and **לָהֶם**.

וַעֲתָה, קָחוּ וַעֲשׂוּ עֲנֻלָּה חֲדָשָׁה אַחַת, וּשְׁתֵּי פָרוֹת עֲלוֹת, אֲשֶׁר לֹא-עָלָה עֲלֵיהֶם עַל,  
וַאֲסִרְתֶּם אֶת-הַפָּרוֹת בַּעֲנֻלָּה, וְהִשִּׁבְתֶּם בְּנֵיהֶם מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם הַבֵּיתָה”

“Now then, get a new cart ready, with two cows that have calved and have never been yoked. Hitch the cows to the cart, but take their calves away and pen them up” (I Sam 6:7)

The suffix pronouns in **בְּנֵיהֶם** and **עֲלֵיהֶם** and **מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם** refer back to the pair of cows mentioned earlier.

According to this proposal, all of these examples are not cases of a lack of agreement, as assumed in the literature, but, in fact, are preservations of original forms lost elsewhere in the Bible. This might be a crucial question for Biblical scholarship — as it might be a significant tool for the dating of the certain texts. If we assume that a lack of agreement reflects a later stage (a problematic assumption by itself), then it becomes crucial to determine whether these are distorted forms, or rather vestiges of old dual forms, in which case they may even be an indication of an earlier date of the writing of the text.<sup>22</sup>

More recently this suggestion has been developed by Rendsburg in several papers,<sup>23</sup> but despite its appeal, as it will become clear, there are a few methodological problems with this theory.

First, aforementioned forms appear next to other forms in which the alleged dual forms do not occur.<sup>24</sup> For example, we encounter next to the example from Genesis 31:9 the following regular feminine forms:

”וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶן: ‘רָאָה אֲנֹכִי אֶת-פָּנַי אֲבִיכֶן כִּי אֵינְנִי אֵלַי כְּתָמֵל שְׁלֹשׁ וְאַלְהֵי אָבִי הִיא עִמָּדִי וְאַתָּנָה יֹדְעָתֶן כִּי בְּכָל-כָּחִי עֲבַדְתִּי אֶת-אֲבִיכֶן וְהָיָה לִּי אֶת-מִשְׁכָּרְתִּי עֲשֵׂרֶת מִנִּים וְלֹא נָתַנוּ אֱלֹהִים לְהָרַע עִמָּדִי”

“He said to them, ‘I see that your father’s attitude toward me is not what it was before, but the God of my father has been with me. You know that I’ve worked for your father with all my strength, yet your father has cheated me by changing my wages ten times. However, God has not allowed him to harm me’ “ (Gen 31:5–7).

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the discussion in Campbell 1975, pp. 23–26

<sup>23</sup> Rendsburg 1980, 1982 and 2001.

<sup>24</sup> For a similar criticism, see Bush 1996, pp. 75–76.

Similarly in Zechariah 5:9–10 we find the alleged dual forms:

וַאֲמַר אֶל־הַמַּלְאָךְ ... "וַאֲשָׂא עֵינַי וָאֲרָא וְהִנֵּה שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים יוֹצְאוֹת וְרוּחַ בְּכַנְפֵיהֶם  
הַדִּבֵּר בִּי אָנָּה הֵמָּה מוֹלִכוֹת אֶת־הָאִפֶּה"

"Then I looked up—and there before me were two women, with the wind in their wings... "Where are they taking the basket?" I asked the angel who was speaking to me" (*Zec* 5:9–10).

But these are placed next to the expected feminine independent pronoun:

"וְלִהְיוּ כְּנָפִים כְּכַנְפֵי הַחֲסִידָה"

"They had wings like those of a stork" (*Zec* 9)

However, this criticism can easily be dismissed by arguing that the so-called "regular forms" are results of a later change. This later amendments would have involved the text being 'mistakenly' corrected according to the regular paradigms, which probably had become the accepted grammatical forms at the time of the alleged change.

A second, stronger counter-argument is that these forms also occur with feminine plural forms in cases that are clearly not dual. Based on this juxtaposition of forms, the case has been made that these are examples of a different phenomenon: the tendency for a leveling of forms in the paradigm, creating a syncretism in 3<sup>rd</sup> plural forms. Thus, instead of having the expected feminine forms, the masculine forms were used.<sup>25</sup> For example, we encounter masculine plural pronoun forms in the case of the five daughters of Zelophehad:

"כֵּן, בָּנוֹת צִלְפָּחָד דִּבְרֹת נָתַן תַּתָּן לָהֶם אֲחֻזַּת נַחֲלָה בְּתוֹךְ אַחֵי אֲבֵיהֶם וְהִעֲבַרְתְּ אֶת־  
נַחֲלַת אֲבֵיהֶן לָהֶן"

"What Zelophehad's daughters are saying is right. You must certainly give them property as an inheritance among their father's relatives and turn their father's inheritance over to them" (*Num* 27:7)

Rendsburg admits that such a phenomenon is relatively common in the Bible, as it is in many other Semitic languages, but in his mind it represents the colloquial language. Therefore, in a response to this criticism,<sup>26</sup> he emphasises the distinction between two groups of forms, which are suspected of lack of agreement:

<sup>25</sup> This is the major criticism of Blau 1988 against Rendsburg's proposal.

<sup>26</sup> Rendsburg 2001.

- A) Those cases in which the feminine antecedents and subjects are plural. In this case we are dealing with gender neutralization, a feature of colloquial Hebrew (and of colloquial varieties of other Semitic languages as well, most notably Arabic);
- B) Those cases in which the feminine antecedents and subjects are dual. In this case we have evidence for a vestigial usage of dual pronouns and verbs in ancient Hebrew.<sup>27</sup>

Following this division, the question remains as to how it can be proven that group B should be treated independently of group A, and not, in fact, just a random sub-group of A?

Rendsburg makes his claim based on the use of statistical tools. According to him, there are 52 instances of situation 'B' versus either 91 or 110 instances of situation 'A'. This is an approximate ratio of 2:1. Compared to this, the ratio between the instances of feminine plural common nouns and the instances of feminine dual common nouns is 4:1.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the gap between the two ratios indicates that the high number of the total instances of group 'B' must be a result of another cause, and not merely as a sub-group of group 'A'. Consequently, Rendsburg claims that by using such a mathematical tool his theory is based on strong probability and garners scientific legitimacy.

In the following section I will demonstrate how such a tool can be misleading. In doing so, I intend to give a general warning to philologists regarding the efficacy of counting examples and using them for simple calculation in statistical analysis.

### 3. Evaluating the Evidence

Among the instances of group 'B' a significant number are from Exodus chapters 28–30, Ruth 1, and the book of Ezekiel. I would like to demonstrate that a careful examination will indicate that there are peculiar phenomena in each of these contexts which necessitate the appearance of the apparent masculine forms without actually indicating the early existence of dual pronouns and verbs.

<sup>27</sup> Rendsburg 2001, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> See Rendsburg pp. 33–35 for a more accurate account of the calculation of the exact ratio.

*Exodus chapters 28–30*

In this unit we find numerous examples with feminine dual antecedents co-indexed by masculine plural pronouns. It should be mentioned that these examples stand at the heart of some discussions regarding the date of the Priestly source:<sup>29</sup>

“וְלָקַחְתָּ אֶת-שְׁתֵּי אַבְנֵי-שֹׁהַם וּפְתַחְתָּ עֲלֵיהֶם שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל”

“Take two onyx stones and engrave on them the names of the sons of Israel” (28:9)

“מַעֲשֵׂה חֲרָשׁ אֶבֶן פְּתוּחֵי חֹתָם תִּפְתַּח אֶת-שְׁתֵּי הָאַבְנִים עַל-שְׁמֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִסֶּבֶת מִשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם”

“Engrave the names of the sons of Israel on the two stones the way a gem cutter engraves a seal. Then mount them in gold filigree settings” (28:11)

“וַעֲשִׂיתָ שְׁתֵּי טַבְעוֹת זָהָב וְשַׁמְטָה אֹתָם עַל-שְׁנֵי קְצוֹת הַחֹשֶׁן”

“Make two gold rings and attach them to the other two corners of the breastpiece” (28:26)

“וַעֲשִׂיתָ שְׁתֵּי טַבְעוֹת זָהָב וְנָתַתָּה אֹתָם”

“Make two more gold rings and attach them” (28:27)

At first glance, these examples seem to be a strong support for Rendsburg’s theory. However, a careful reading of the larger context will indicate that this is a very weak endorsement for the theory. In fact in chapters 25–30 of Exodus there is not even a single example of the object marker with the 3<sup>rd</sup> feminine plural suffix pronoun. It should be noted that these chapters are a discrete textual unit which contains the instructions of how to build the tabernacle. In this unit the pronoun **אֹתָם** is always used even for feminine objects that number more than two, as it can be seen in the following examples:

“וַעֲשִׂיתָ קְעֻרָתָיו וְכַפְתָּיו וּקְשׁוֹתָיו וּמִנְקִיתָיו אֲשֶׁר יִסַּף בָּהֶן זָהָב טָהוֹר תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם”

“And make its plates and dishes of pure gold, as well as its pitchers and bowls for the pouring out of offerings” (Ex 25:29).

“וְאֶת-הַמִּשְׁכָּן תַּעֲשֶׂה עֹשֶׂר יְרִיעֹת שֵׁשׁ מְשֻׁזָּר וְתַכְלֵת וְאַרְגָּמָן וְתִלְעֵת שְׁנֵי כָרָבִים מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֶׁב, תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם”

“Make the tabernacle with ten curtains of finely twisted linen and blue, purple and scarlet yarn, with cherubim worked into them by a skilled craftsman” (Ex 26:1).

<sup>29</sup> See Rendsburg 1980; 2001, pp. 35–39; Blenkinsopp 1996.

Feminine plural pronouns appear only three times when a full variation of the pronoun appears, *i.e.* when it contains the original consonant /h/, and after certain prepositions:

“וַעֲשִׂיתָ קְעֻרָתָיו וְכַפְתָּיו וְקִשּׁוֹתָיו וּמִנְקִיתָיו אֲשֶׁר יִסֹּף בָּהֶן זָהָב טָהוֹר תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם”

“And make its plates and dishes of pure gold, as well as its pitchers and bowls for the pouring out of offerings” (25:29).

“וְאֵת שְׁתֵּי הַכִּלָּיִת וְאֶת־הַחֶלֶב אֲשֶׁר עַל־הֶן”

“both kidneys with the fat on them” (29:13, 22).

Needless to say, that in two out of the three examples the antecedent is actually dual. This careful reading reveals that we should not count all these examples as a clear indication of the use of dual pronouns. It is clear that in the dialect reflected in this source the option of the “אותן” combination was not available, either in the plural or in the dual forms and according to the evidence in these chapters was not always used with other prepositions as well.

#### *Ruth 1*

A stronger evidence for Rendsburg would have been if he had found a source in which there are both plural feminine entities and pairs of entities and that the lack of the regular “grammatical” agreement is found only when the dual forms are expected. In fact it could be suggested that this is the case in the book of Ruth,<sup>30</sup> in which, on the one hand, there are many instances of a lack of agreement when the antecedent is a couple of women and, on the other hand, none when the antecedent is plural with more than two members:

יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם חֲסֵד כְּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתֶם עִם־הַמֵּתִים וְעַמְדִּי יְתֵן יְהוָה לָכֶם (יַעֲשֶׂה)  
וּמִצָּאֵן מְנוּחָה אִשָּׁה בֵּית אִישָׁה

“May the LORD show kindness to you, as you have shown to your dead and to me. May the LORD grant that each of you will find rest in the home of another husband (1: 8–9)”

In this context, Naomi is speaking with her two daughters-in-law, Ruth and Orpah, and using the masculine pronouns in the forms: **עִמָּכֶם** and **לָכֶם**, and in the verbal form: **עָשִׂיתֶם**.

In another context, when Boaz speaks with Ruth he uses feminine forms when he is referring to the servant girls in general:

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Tropper 1992, pp. 206–207.

”הָלוֹא שָׁמַעַתְּ בְּתִי אֶל־תִּלְכִּי לְלָקֵט בְּשָׂדֶה אַחֵר וְגַם לֹא תַעֲבֹרִי מִזֶּה וְכֹה תִּדְבָּקִין  
עִם־נַעֲרֹתַי עֵינֶיךָ בְּשָׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר־יִקְצְרוּן וְהָלַכְתְּ אַחֲרֵיהֶן הָלוֹא צִוִּיתִי אֶת־הַנָּעָרִים  
לְבִלְתִּי נִגָּעַךְ?

”My daughter, listen to me. Don’t go and glean in another field and don’t go away from here. Stay here with my servant girls. Watch the field where the men are harvesting, and follow along after them. I have told the men not to touch you. And whenever you are thirsty, go and get a drink from the water jars the men have filled.” (2: 8–9)

Although there are not examples of plural feminine nouns (with more than two members) with masculine agreement, there are still examples of dual antecedents with regular feminine pronouns.<sup>31</sup> While Rendsburg might take these examples as exceptions, a careful reading will indicate that in fact all of these examples can be explained in a different way, ruling them out as cases of dual pronouns and verbal forms.

In another paper,<sup>32</sup> I demonstrated that in the book of Ruth the language spoken by the women is marked with the use of a phonological phenomenon.<sup>33</sup> According to this suggestion, in all the verbal forms and pronouns that end with one of the nasal consonants /m/ or /n/, the original /m/ is represented with the letter מ and the original /n/ with נ. Presumably this was chosen as a spoken language marker, since in this dialect there was a neutralization of the difference between the two consonants in the final position. This phenomenon is well known from a later stage of Hebrew, *i.e.* Mishnaic Hebrew.

Following this explanation, it becomes clear why the lack of agreement is found only in forms that end with final /n/ and not with other forms, and it demonstrates a clear distribution between the ‘grammatical’ and the ‘non-grammatical’ forms. The grammatical forms appear in the narrative part of the text, while the non-grammatical forms occur only in the direct speech. In addition, this proposal explains the fact that we find next to this lack of agreement a different one in the opposite direction, in which feminine forms appear with masculine antecedents:

”כִּי אָמַרְתִּי יֶשׁ־לִי תִקְוָה גַם הָיִיתִי הַלֵּילָה לְאִישׁ וְגַם יָלַדְתִּי בָנִים הֲלֵהֶן תִּשְׁבְּרָנָה עַד  
אֲשֶׁר יִגְדְּלוּ הֲלֵהֶן תַּעֲנֶנָּה לְבִלְתִּי הָיִית לְאִישׁ?”

“Even if I thought there was still hope for me—even if I had a husband tonight and then gave birth to sons- would you wait until they grew up? Would you remain unmarried for them?” (1:12–13)

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, two instances in 1, 9.

<sup>32</sup> Bar-Asher 2008.

<sup>33</sup> After the publication of Bar-Asher (2008), Jamison (2008) demonstrated a similar phenomenon in the hymns of the Rig Veda in Sanskrit.



The two instances of the feminine pronoun *לָהֶן* are clearly referring to the potential sons. In that paper I suggest another example of a similar phenomenon in the book of Ruth, and mentioned similar examples in other biblical books.

If I am right in my proposal, all the examples from the book of Ruth should not be counted in Rendsburg's statistical calculation, as they are clearly evidence for another linguistic phenomenon.

### *Ezekiel*

Finally, the book of Ezekiel exhibits similarities to what has been noted earlier regarding Exodus 25–30. There are four examples of alleged dual forms from chapter 13, and, as Rendsburg himself indicates, in Ezekiel 1–26 there are many examples of a lack of agreement among the feminine forms. These examples probably attest to either the underlying dialect of the text, to the writing style of its author, and/or to a certain stage of the book's transition.

By carefully examining the examples in their larger contexts, it becomes obvious that merely counting examples and using their number for a statistic calculation can lead to misleading results. Many of these examples just happen to be instances of dual entities in contexts in which, for different reasons, the standard Biblical Hebrew grammar's rules of agreement were not kept. This is due in part to the general syncretism of the masculine and feminine forms, and in part to the choice of a phonological form to mark the spoken language. It, therefore, is only coincidental that most of the female characters in these contexts appeared in pairs.

## 4. Conclusions

After suggesting an updated reconstruction for the dual pronouns of Proto-Semitic, I examined the suggestion that vestiges of dual verbal forms and pronouns are evident in the biblical text, and especially the recent arguments made by Rendsburg for supporting this hypothesis. I concluded that it is based on very weak evidence. As noted by Blau, all the examples which Rendsburg considered to be proofs for his theory can be taken as instances of the general phenomenon of syncretism between the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural feminine and masculine forms, a common phenomenon cross linguistically and particularly in Biblical Hebrew. In responding to Blau's criticism Rendsburg argued that statistical analysis strengthened his hypothesis. This paper,

therefore, is a response to Rendsburg's response. I have attempted to demonstrate that merely counting examples can be very misleading; either separately counting examples found in the same biblical context falsely increases the number or, far worse, some examples should not even be considered at all since there are other motivations for the use of their peculiar forms.

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# Allusions to the Stream of Tradition in Neo-Assyrian Oracles

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## Abstract

*The purpose of this article is to begin the evaluation of the rhetorical aims and strategies of the use of allusions within Neo-Assyrian oracles. These allusions are to some of the most prominent texts within the Mesopotamian literary stream of tradition: Adapa and the South Wind, Atra-ḥasis, and the Gilgameš Epic. The authors borrowed imagery from these works and fused it with their own rhetorical purposes. Prophets even used allusions that contained a complex set of apparently conflicting associations. The use of subtle allusions that often contain complex associations should cause modern readers to more greatly appreciate the rhetorical abilities of the Neo-Assyrian prophets.*

## Allusions to the Stream of Tradition in Neo-Assyrian Oracles

The stylistic sophistication of the Neo-Assyrian oracles from Nineveh has not gone unnoticed by modern scholars.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it has been suggested that the oracles allude to works of literature which belong to what Leo Oppenheim called the “stream of tradition”.<sup>2</sup> However, these

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<sup>1</sup> Parpola 1997, p. lxvii. The prophecies are published in Parpola 1997 and valuable studies of the prophecies include Nissinen 1998 and 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Parpola 1997, pp. CV n. 246; 4 n. i 7; 16 n. i 19 (in this instance Parpola notes that the “same idea” occurs in both the oracle and the Babylonian Flood story); 41 n. 8.

intertextual allusions have not yet been subject to literary-critical scrutiny. It is the purpose of this article to begin the evaluation of their rhetorical aims and strategies by focusing on three particular instances.

These allusions are to some of the most prominent texts within the stream of tradition: *Adapa and the South Wind*, *Atra-ḫasīs*, and the *Gilgameš Epic*. As we will see, the prophets did not merely cut and paste sections of these works into their oracles. Instead, they borrowed motifs and altered them to fit their own purposes. In so doing, the prophets likely viewed themselves as active participants in the creative process of literary composition.<sup>3</sup> The prophets drew on the authority and high cultural status of the literary stream of tradition in order to enhance their message, while at the same time they subtly changed the phrasing of the passages they alluded to, in order to make their impact even more powerful.

Akkadian prophecies present several challenges to the modern reader.<sup>4</sup> It is often hard to know with certainty when an author is consciously quoting another text. One complicating factor is the fact that authors may create relationships between texts subconsciously.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we must be mindful in our interpretive efforts to separate conscious allusions from accidental ones. Additionally, the Mesopotamian prophets often alluded to literary works in the stream of tradition in a markedly oblique manner. There are no unambiguous markers of citations such as personal names or exact quotations. So, at times it is unclear whether the prophets drew from a generic trope or intentionally referred to a specific passage.

When approaching allusions that seem only tangentially related to another text we must not automatically dismiss a connection because the link is not strong. Jeffrey Tigay has shown that when scribes translated texts in the Mesopotamian stream of tradition into other languages the differences between two versions were sometimes substantial. Furthermore, he observes that scribes often modified the stories to fit local ideologies or interests.<sup>6</sup> Even though the versions of the stories were in some cases very

<sup>3</sup> Foster 1991, pp. 31–32.

<sup>4</sup> One issue that is less acute for Neo-Assyrian prophecy in contrast to Old Babylonian prophecy is the difficulty of separating the prophets' own words from those of the scribes who recorded the oracles. No doubt the scribes faithfully conveyed the message of the prophets, but the scribes, particularly in the Old Babylonian period, felt free to adapt the wording of the messages to their own personalities while still preserving the voice of the prophet (Sasson 1995, pp. 605, 607; see also van der Toorn 1998, pp. 60–69). The scribes seem more intent upon preserving the actual words of the oracles during the Neo-Assyrian period (cf. Parpola 1997, LXVII), however the exact composition history of these oracles is probably lost forever (Nissinen 2005, p. 165).

<sup>5</sup> Aaron 2006, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Tigay 1993, pp. 254–255.

different, there was nonetheless a relationship between the texts. A similar phenomenon occurred when the Neo-Assyrian prophets borrowed motifs from the literary stream of tradition.

Finally, another challenge to the modern reader is properly identifying prophecy. Nissinen lists three components that distinguish prophecy from other works: 1) the implied speaker is a deity, 2) the implied addressee is a human, and 3) the medium of communication is through a human.<sup>7</sup> Nissinen also distinguishes three types of texts that contain prophetic material: 1) oracle reports and collections, 2) quotations of prophetic messages embedded in letters or literary works, and 3) compilations that reference people with prophetic titles.<sup>8</sup> The allusions to the literary stream of tradition discussed in this article occur in prophetic oracles of the Neo-Assyrian period. These oracles were copied (presumably each oracle was originally written on its own tablet) onto large, vertical, and multi-columned tablets that were intended for archival and reference purposes.<sup>9</sup>

### Adapa and the South Wind

Parpola identifies three Neo-Assyrian oracles that contain references to major literary works within the Mesopotamian stream of tradition.<sup>10</sup> The first of these is, in his numeration, prophecy 1.1.<sup>11</sup> In this prophecy Ištar spoke through the prophet Issar-lā-taīyaṭ and told Esarhaddon that she would destroy the king's enemies. Ištar reassured Esarhaddon that she was capable of protecting him: *ayyû šāru ša idibakkani*<sup>12</sup> *aqappušu lā aksupūni* "what wind (is there) which has risen against you, (and) whose wing I have not clipped"? This phrase is probably an allusion to *Adapa and the South Wind*: *Adapa ša šūti kappāša išbir* "Adapa broke the wing of the south wind".<sup>13</sup> The prophet alluded to *Adapa* in order to highlight the fact that Ištar had never faced an enemy of the king that she had been unable to subdue.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Nissinen 2003, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Nissinen 2003, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Parpola 1997, p. LIII. Oracle 9 is written on a large, vertical tablet, however unlike oracles 1–4 it is the only oracle written on this tablet.

<sup>10</sup> Parpola 1997, pp. XLVII–XLVIII and CV n. 246.

<sup>11</sup> Photos of the prophecies 1.1–1.10 can be found in Parpola 1997, plates I–III. For hand copies see Smith 1875, plate 4. For a revised copy see Pinches 1891, plate X.

<sup>12</sup> From *tabû* "to rise up," see Parpola 1997, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> For the text of *Adapa* see Picchioni 1981, p. 118:43. For an introduction and study of *Adapa* see Izre'el 2001.

<sup>14</sup> Since Ištar is depicted as having wings, the prophet may have employed a pun with the imagery of breaking the wing of the wind.



At first glance, the allusion to *Adapa* in this oracle seems quite tangential. In fact, apart from the semantic parallel between breaking the wind's wing there is hardly any similarity. First, the compositions use different words to refer to the wind; the *Adapa* myth uses *šūtu* "south wind" but the prophet employs a more general word for wind, *šāru*. Second, the only Akkadian word that occurs in both works, "wing" appears in two different forms; *kappu* occurs in *Adapa* while *aqappu* appears in the oracle. Third, the authors of these texts use different verbs to express the subjugation of the wind; *šebēru* "to break" is used in *Adapa* while *kasāpu* "to chip, trim" in the prophetic text. Finally, the prophet does not include the name *Adapa* at any point in his oracle. While there are semantic similarities that might lead one to conclude that the prophet intended an allusion to *Adapa*, the wording of the allusion is substantially different from that of the myth. However, the differences between the prophecy and the myth were likely purposeful. The prophet alluded to perhaps the most distinctive and defining phrase within the *Adapa* myth. Even though the vocabulary is slightly different no one familiar with both *Adapa* and the oracle would have failed to note this echo between them.

The oracle's reference to *Adapa* mobilized associations of brutality. The main character of the myth, Adapa, broke the wind's wing in a fit of rage. The episode begins with Adapa fishing in the sea. Suddenly, the strong wind came up from the South, capsized Adapa's boat, and threw him into the "home of the fish". His temper flared up and Adapa uttered a curse that broke the wind's wing and the wind did not blow for seven days. Upon hearing the prophet's allusion to this event in *Adapa*, the king would doubtless have recalled the context of Adapa's fury. By alluding to this incident the prophet also linked Adapa's quick temper with that of his goddess, Ištar.

Ištar was the goddess of sex, but also of war.<sup>15</sup> She was known for her easily excitable and dreadfully destructive anger. She was sometimes pictured as holding a rope attached to a ring lodged into the nose of a prisoner.<sup>16</sup> The prophet fused this fearsome imagery of Ištar with Adapa's effective curse. Just as Adapa defeated the might of the South Wind with a mere word, so also will Ištar effortlessly defeat all of Esarhaddon's opponents.

Many of the differences between the prophet's allusion and the text of *Adapa* are not mere happenstance. Instead, they strengthen the force of the prophet's assurance. While the use of *šāru* rather than *šūtu* that appears in

<sup>15</sup> Wilcke and Seidl 1976. Also, Black, Green, and Rickards 1992, pp. 108–109.

<sup>16</sup> Wilcke and Seidl 1976, abb. 1.

*Adapa* might be dismissed as merely inadvertent, instead, it subtly expands the scope of Ištar's support. *Šutu* refers specifically to the South Wind while *šāru* is a generic word for "wind".<sup>17</sup> By replacing the more specific term with the more general, the prophet indicates that Ištar will protect the king from any threat. Ištar will crush any person or group that opposes the king.

All of the extant Ninevite oracles give the king positive reassurance, but if we read between the lines we will see that this oracle's author was an optimistic realist. The verb that the *Adapa* myth used to describe the subjugation of the wind was *šebēru* "to break" while the prophet used *kasāpu* "to chip, break off a piece, to trim".<sup>18</sup> In a general sense the two verbs share a similar meaning, but their connotations are entirely different. *Šebēru* is forceful and describes the action of breaking, fracturing, or destroying (bows, bones, etc.).<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the verb *kasāpu* is used to describe a chipped beam of wood: *gušūrū ša kassapūni batqu akaššar* "I will supply the replacement for its broken beams"<sup>20</sup> and breaking off crumbs of food: *šumma kalbu liksupūšu kusāpa* "if it is a dog they should break off a bite for it".<sup>21</sup> *Kasāpu* does not imply an action as strong or violent as *šebēru*.<sup>22</sup> Accordingly, the CAD translates the prophet's allusion: "Have I not trimmed the wings of the wind that blew against you"?<sup>23</sup> The prophet did not ask the king: "Have I not smashed the wind that blew against you"? Instead, by changing the verb the prophet conveyed the idea that Ištar has rendered the king's enemies ineffective, their wings are clipped, but the enemies remain nonetheless. A prophecy that at first seems more like a bright-eyed platitude is actually a sensible word of encouragement. The king will not lack opponents, but Ištar will ensure their eventual subjugation.

The Neo-Assyrian oracle's allusion to *Adapa* by no means stands alone, but rather sits in a continuum of allusions to *Adapa* across different textual genres. Already in the early second Millennium at Mari a prophetess alluded to *Adapa*<sup>24</sup> as well: *umma-mi šāru ana mātim itebbēm u kappišu u šitta ta-ak-ka-[...] ašâlšunūti Zimrī-Lim u mār Sim'al ebūram līpušu* "A wind

<sup>17</sup> See CAD Š 408–411 and AHW 1293b "Südwind, Süden".

<sup>18</sup> CAD K 241–42 and AHW 453 "in Stücke brechen".

<sup>19</sup> CAD Š/2 246–50 and AHW 1206–7 "(zer)brechen".

<sup>20</sup> Parpola 1987, no. 77 r 7–8.

<sup>21</sup> Ebeling 1919, no. 114:6.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also, from the same root, the word *kusāpu*, which indicates a "small bit broken off" as seen in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, [ana X] *bēr ī iksupū kusāpu* "after X double hours they had a bite" (Lambert and Millard 1965, no. 21:2. There also a pun in this line since one meaning of *barū* (adj. *berū*) is "to be hungry.") as well as the *kispu* ceremony where bread is broken.

<sup>23</sup> CAD K 242.

<sup>24</sup> The oldest manuscript of *Adapa* is from *tell el-Amarna* so while the story may have been current in the early second millennium, it cannot be proven.

will rise against this land! I will test its wings and its two...—[let] Zimrī-Lim and the Sim'alite do the harvesting"!<sup>25</sup> Here again the prophetess did not state that the wing was broken but tested. This is another instance of a prophet adapting a tradition to a current situation. The prophetess refashions the allusion from *Adapa* in order to portray the large role of the king, Zimrī-Lim, in defeating his enemies. While the deity will test the wings of the rising wind, Zimrī-Lim will be the one who completes the defeat.

Two other occurrences of breaking wings include a text from Sultepe: *izīrīšunu ušabber* "I have broken their (the evil winds') wings".<sup>26</sup> This text uses the same verb as in *Adapa*, but the word for wing is different.<sup>27</sup> Finally, the closest parallel to *Adapa* is found in Sîn-šarra-iškun's report of divine protection from his enemies: *šāru(im.méš) tibūtīya ušabbiru kap[pišunu]* "...of the attack against me they shattered their wing".<sup>28</sup> This allusion includes both the same verb (although in the D stem, not G as in *Adapa*) and the same word for "wing" but a different word for "wind" (*šāru* instead of *šūtu*).

These texts indicate that authors quoted the *Adapa* myth in a variety of circumstances. Furthermore, a dangerous wind is a familiar trope that likely originated from *Adapa*, yet no author provides an exact quotation.<sup>29</sup> Mesopotamian authors frequently borrowed motifs and tailored them to their own particular situations.

### Atra-Ḫasīs

The *Atra-Ḫasīs* epic describes the creation and early history of humankind as well as the great flood. Parpola does not draw a direct relationship between *Atra-Ḫasīs* and a Neo-Assyrian oracle, but he commented,

<sup>25</sup> Durand 1988, pp. 429–430. This text also appears in the volume designed for biblical scholars, Nissinen 2003, p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> Gurney, Finkelstein, and Hulin 1964, no. 149 r.4.

<sup>27</sup> An allusion to *Adapa* has also been proposed in an inscription on a *Pazuzu* head from Babylon. Approximately 163 heads of animal-like demons have been found throughout Mesopotamia, including Nineveh (For an extensive study of the *Pazuzu* see Heessel 2002) and these heads often contain inscriptions. One such inscription contains the following phrase, which Parpola (1997, p. CV n. 246) links with the *Adapa* myth: *šāru(im.méš) lemmu ša tebū(zi)šu nanduru* "the Evil wind, whose attack is fearsome..." (Lambert 1970, p. 47:2). About the only connection between this text and *Adapa* is the semantic notion of dangerous wind. This is not enough of a connection to constitute a legitimate allusion, rather, it is a mere trope.

<sup>28</sup> Grayson 1972, p. 165 line 5' restoring *kap[pišunu]*.

<sup>29</sup> For example, see the texts listed in the *tebū* entry of CAD T, pp. 316–317.

“the same idea occurs” in both of these works.<sup>30</sup> Neo-Assyrian oracle 2.3 line ii 19’ contains the phrase *mārtu*(*dumu.munus*) *hubburtu* “noisy daughter,”<sup>31</sup> and the related word *hubūru* “din” occurs three times in the “Assyrian recension”<sup>32</sup> of *Atra-ḫasīs* in lines iv r 3, 8, and 41.<sup>33</sup> Each occurrence appears in a virtually identical phrase: *ina rigmēšina attādar / ina hubūrīšina lā iṣabbatanni šittu* “I am disturbed by their shouts / because of their noise sleep will not overcome me.”<sup>34</sup> This phrase illustrates the god’s displeasure at the loud noise produced by human activity. In prophecy 2.3 the prophet described the fidelity of Ištar by contrasting her steadfastness and responsiveness with the deceit and treachery of humans. The prophet stated that Ištar would root out and deliver all of the king’s enemies that were figuratively described with the collective term “noisy daughter”.

The prophet might have picked this illustration in order to recall the *Atra-ḫasīs* epic, but the allusion is more complex than it first appears. The only feature connecting this prophecy and *Atra-ḫasīs* is that they both refer to noise (*ḫbr*) as something negative which, if Parpola’s interpretation is correct, is characteristic of mankind.<sup>35</sup> No names are mentioned, nor does the allusion extend further than this one word although two lines earlier there is a possible allusion to *Gilgameš* xi 220: *raggat amēlūtu iraggigki* “Being deceitful, mankind will deceive you”.<sup>36</sup> The two occurrences in quick succession lend each other support. However, in the *Atra-ḫasīs* epic the gods’ plan to kill humanity backfired. After killing most of the humans the gods realized that they would have to do work if the humans were not around and the human protagonist, *Atra-ḫasīs*, saved a remnant and was able to repopulate the earth. This usage is an example of the complexity of the cultural resonances mobilized by allusions. On the one hand, the gods killed off almost the entire human population, on the other, a human outwitted the deities (with the help of the god Enki). The prophet likely intended to recall the catastrophic nature of the flood rather than clumsy deities.

<sup>30</sup> Parpola 1997, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> This is a difficult form. In Neo-Assyrian a D-stem verbal adjective would be *habburtu*. AHw 352a assigns the form to *huburtu*, “bundle of reeds”, under the proviso that that the passage is unclear. Parpola’s translation probably presumes a Babylonianism.

<sup>32</sup> Lambert and Millard 1969, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Lambert and Millard 1969, pp. 106–115.

<sup>34</sup> The only substantive difference is that lines 8 and 41 read “sleep does not overcome me” while line 3 reads “sleep did not overcome him.”

<sup>35</sup> Parpola 1997, p. 16.

<sup>36</sup> The *Gilgameš* quotation is from George 2003, p. 716. The prophecy reads *amēlūtu tullumā* “Mankind is deceitful” (Parpola 1997, p. 16 line 17’).

## The *Gilgameš Epic*

The *Gilgameš Epic* was one of the most widely circulated texts of the Fertile Crescent. Scribes translated it into multiple languages and schools even outside Mesopotamia incorporated *Gilgameš* into their scribal curriculum.<sup>37</sup> A prominent theme of this story is the friendship between Gilgameš and his best friend and journey companion Enkidu. In Neo-Assyrian oracle 9 a woman sent words of encouragement to Assurbanipal on behalf of Mullissu and Ištar in which she alluded to the relationship between Gilgameš and Enkidu:

balāt(a)ka eršākuma arappuda šēru(edin) / etanabbir nārāte(id<sup>mes</sup>) u tāmāte (tam-tim<sup>mes</sup>) / ētanattiq šadē ḥursāni ētanabbir nārāte(id<sup>mes</sup>) kalīšina / ētanakkalāni yāši / šētāte sarabāte / iltanappatā banū lānī / anākuma šad-dalupūka lāniya

Your life I desire. I roam the steppe, I cross rivers and seas, I traverse mountain chains, I cross all rivers. Droughts and rains consume me, they affect my beautiful figure and my body is sleepless on your account.

Commenting on this section, Parpola connects almost every phrase of this prophecy with lines in the *Gilgameš Epic* and he is surely right to do so.<sup>38</sup> As we look at specific links in *Gilgameš* that illustrate the allusion most clearly we should keep in mind that various permutations of these lines are repeated throughout the *Epic*. The prophetic allusions are not to obscure and tucked away passages.

The first line of this section: *balātka eršākuma arappuda šēr(a)(edin)* “Your life I desire. I roam the steppe...” is a clear allusion to line ix 5 and an often repeated image in tablet x [this exact phrase occurs in lines 139 and 239 while *arappud šēra(edin)* or similar constructions appear in lines 64, 66, 77, 118, 125, 139, 141, 154, 218, 225, 239, 241, 243; NB: these examples include partially and fully reconstructed lines] of *Gilgameš*: *mūta aplahma arappud šēra(edin)* “I feared death, I roam the steppe”.<sup>39</sup> The prophetess employs the imagery of a rough and tumble hero valiantly treading through the wilderness propelled by his sense of mission and adventure to represent the gods’ zeal to protect the king. Furthermore, the prophetess alters the refrain of tablet x in order to emphasize the safety of the king. While the *Gilgameš Epic* reads: “I feared death, I roam the steppe”, the prophetess uses the second half of this line but replaces the first half with: “Your life I desire”. If

<sup>37</sup> Demsky 1990, p. 164. See also van der Toorn 2000, p. 105.

<sup>38</sup> Parpola 1997, p. 41.

<sup>39</sup> All quotations from *Gilgameš* are from George 2003.

the prophetess had merely quoted the refrain from *Gilgameš* the motivation for the gods' protection of the king would have been their fear of death. The prophetess changes this intention to the gods' desire for the king's life.

The oracle to Assurbanipal contains two other allusions to the *Gilgameš Epic*. The first is x 251-55:

ašhur allika kalīšina mātāti(kur<sup>meš</sup>) / ētettiqa šadī(kur<sup>meš</sup>) maršūti / u ētete-  
bira kalīšina tāmātu / šitta tābta ul išbū pānūya / uštēziq ramānī ina dalāpi

Again, I went through all the lands. I passed time and again over arduous mountains, and I crossed time and again all the seas. My face did not have enough of sweet sleep, I scourged myself by going sleepless.

Second, *Gilgameš* x 122-25:

lā ibašši nissatu(sag.pa.lagab) ina karšiya / ana ālik urhī rūqāti pānūya lā  
mašlū / ina šarbi u šēti(ud.da) lā qummū pānūya / u pān labbi lā šaknākuma  
lā arappud šera

Should there not be sorrow in my heart, and my face not be like one who has traveled a distant road? Should not my face be burnt by the frost and sunshine, and should I not roam steppe like a lion?

Both of these passages are from tablet x. This section describes Gilgameš's journey in search of the secret of eternal life. Ultimately, this quest ended in vain since Gilgameš was unable to attain eternal life. Like the complexities surrounding the allusion to *Atra-ḫasīs* in the previous oracle, in this instance the prophetess used the allusion to Gilgameš in order to highlight the fidelity of the deity on behalf of the king. Apparently, in the mind of the prophetess the luster of this allusion was not tarnished by the ultimate ineffectiveness of Gilgameš's journey.

## Conclusion

Contrary to many modern forms of discourse, ancient writers felt no compulsion to provide direct links with their allusions (*cf.* the four lines which appear almost identically in *Ištar's Descent*, *Nergal and Ereshkigal* (Sultantepe version), and *Gilgameš*). Instead, they borrowed imagery and fused it with their own rhetorical purposes. This makes our task as modern readers very difficult. It is often hard to determine if an intertextual similarity is due to chance, the use of a trope, or a conscious allusion to a specific work. Prophets even used allusions that contained a complex set of apparently conflicting associations. However, when allusions are detected they are often subtly powerful. In the case of the allusions in the oracles from Nin-

evenh, their intertextual nuance and emotional impact contribute to enhancing our appreciation for the rhetorical abilities of the Neo-Assyrian prophets.

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# Trade Terminology among the Safaitic Arabs before Islam as Reflected in their Inscriptions

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## Abstract

*This paper deals with some aspects of commerce (merchandise and trade) activities as attested in the Ancient North Arabian Safaitic inscriptions. The Safaitic tribes were in close contact with some political entities in the region, such as the Nabataeans and Romans. Their inscriptions reflect certain aspects of the tribal life of the Safaites and their activities — the merchandise and trade activities, for instance. The activity of trade is discussed in this paper in the light of some terms that occurred in inscriptions. Furthermore, we can deduce that they were familiar with manufacturing salt through the expression of  $\text{wḥḍr ḥlqt mlḥ}$  “and prepared a pitfall to extract salt”. The inscriptions, also, gave some clues on the existence of market places — for example,  $\text{w qtt f zm}$ . The social and daily life, in some cases, motivated the Bedouin to use what is so-called ‘barter’ namely, the exchange of animal products for grains and other needed things.*

## Introduction

As it is known, those who were living in Bādiyat esh-Shām, and those Safaitic communities, among them, emigrated from Arabian Peninsula, had to adapt to the new agricultural and pastoral environment. For them the land of al-Ḥammād in Bādiyat esh-Shām was suited to their breeding of animals and other activities.<sup>1</sup>

The principle means of subsistence and economy of the Arabian tribes in Ḥaurān and Bādiyat esh-Shām included sheep and goat pastoralism, trade and the cultivation of natural areas. In addition, the Arabian tribes, created a defensive system, had ‘tutelary guardians’, and guided the caravan trade.<sup>2</sup>

A clear picture of commerce is wanting, owing to the scarcity and ambiguity of relevant inscriptions. In this study, we attempt to shed light on this matter through an analysis of Safaitic inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

## The Terms

### *tgr*

We know little about trading goods and markets, and our knowledge is based on inscriptions. Among the vocabularies in the Safaitic inscriptions is the verb *tgr* “trade.”<sup>4</sup> This verb is attested in some inscriptions and appears to be a rare sign indicating the commerce activity. It would be useful as a major indicator to examine the related vocabularies. Special attention has been paid to the inscription: *l’hb bn k’mh hdr wtgr hkb̄n*,<sup>5</sup> which describes the organization of commerce in terms of artefact trading. Then there is the word *kbn* “hemming,”<sup>6</sup> mentioned in the inscription, which casts a shadow over the activity — it appears to attest different forms of weaving for saddlery, the plaiting of garment, or weaving loose outer garment with sleeves.<sup>7</sup>

### *’gr*

It can be shown that the Safaities were involved in the ‘national’ economy namely, employed as workmen, and in return they were paid: *lhmsk bn bhl bn ’bs’ ’gr hgdl*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dussaud 1959, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Mašāraqah 1988, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> Villeneuve 1988, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Winnett 1957, p. 133, n° 996.

<sup>5</sup> Winnett 1957, p. 133, n° 996.

<sup>6</sup> See Al-Zabīdī 1994., vol. 18, p. 471–72.

<sup>7</sup> Payne Smith 1981, pp 1671–2.

<sup>8</sup> CIS, n° 157.

The presence of numerous basalt stone heaps in the desert, known as cairns, led some scholars to suggest that these were used as watch towers or signs along trading roads.<sup>9</sup> It seems possible that the guides who led the caravans used these cairns to facilitate their duty in protecting caravans.<sup>10</sup> It is already accepted that the Nabataeans mixed with the Safaitic tribes after the fall of their state in AD 106. Many inscriptions refer to the inhabitants who lived in Harra and Hammad and who had an opportunity to learn trading methods from the Nabataeans.<sup>11</sup> The Safaities, who lived along the eastern foot mountain, however, accompanied the Nabataeans as their assistants, and played an important role.<sup>12</sup>

### *ḥd*

The term *ḥd* is companied in some inscriptions with *ḥḏt*,<sup>13</sup> and in some others it occurs alone.<sup>14</sup> Grimme interpreted it as the “selling goods”; it was also mentioned in the Lihyanite inscriptions under the same meaning.<sup>15</sup> The inscription CIS 3916 examines a vital trading activity namely, the trading of horses: *l ḥml bn ṣm bn s'd w'ḥd mḥny ḥfrs bḥmst ṣmny*<sup>16</sup> “*Ḥml b. ṣm b. S'd* and he bought a horse with five ṣmny (?). Inscriptions have also indicated that bartering was a commercial activity. It was most likely that sheep, camels, horses and cattle, in addition to their products, were main items bartered with sedentary communities. There are few inscriptions that reveal this kind of activity. The inscription CIS 3916 indicates a payment with a measure of dry grain: *l ḥml bn ṣm bn s'd w'ḥd m ḥny ḥfrs bḥmst ṣmny*<sup>17</sup> “By *Ḥml b. ṣm b. s'd*, and he took from *Ḥny* the horse by five ṣmny.”

### *dwg*

It can be expected that peddling was also practiced. Inscriptions refer to peddlers as practicing a kind of commerce, or in “market oriented” activities. This is seen in: *l šym bn n'm d'l b'd wdwg<sup>18</sup> bbrqh l (r)m fhlt nqmt<sup>19</sup>*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. Lancaster and F. Lancaster 1993, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> Dussaud 1959, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> 'Ali 1976, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> Dussaud 1959, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Grimme 1929, p. 40, n° 172.

<sup>14</sup> Winnett and Harding 1978, p. 168, n° 865, CIS 3916.

<sup>15</sup> Grimme 1929, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> CIS, n° 3916.

<sup>17</sup> CIS, n° 3916.

<sup>18</sup> The root *dwg* means “carry on commerce”, and *ad-dawwaāg* “employee, servant, and trader”, see al-Ġazrī 1979, vol. 2, p. 101; al-Rāzi 1986, p. 83.

<sup>19</sup> CIS, n° 4447.

“By ʕym son of ʕnʕm from the tribe bʕd and he peddled among brqh of the tribe (r)m, O Lt (the goddess) take vengeance.” This brings to mind the locally used word of *dawwāg*, which means “the man who peddled in between large field-tents selling the goods that would have been carried on donkey back.”

### *wklt*

In Safaitic, *wklt* is attested in Winnett 1957, p. 32, no 152: *lḡdn bn ʕ bn ʕdm bn bn ʕʕd wḡyb mn hwklt*. This inscription has an economic aspect. The word *wklt* is translated by Winnett as ‘store.’<sup>20</sup> His translation is important for understanding the nature of trade, though the Arabic lexicons are not certain on the meaning. In fact, the crucial word has a sense of agent selling.

### *wsq*

The term *wsq* is attested in the inscription CIS 2088: *ʕʕd bn zḥk bn mʕʕr wklʕ hnḥl ḥms wsq*.<sup>21</sup> “By ʕʕd b. Zḥk b. Mʕʕr, and he guarded the valley for five *wsq* (?)”, points to payment by measure. Bartering was widespread in Bedouin life, which they used to exchange fat (ghee), or other animal products for commodities provided by city or village dwellers.<sup>22</sup> This was the same in the time of Safaitic tribes.

### *myr*

It is important to keep in mind that the root *myr* is a key word for Safaitic method of earning. It is attested as the verb *myr* in the term: *lwdm bn ḥlq wrʕy fḥlḡ wmyr*<sup>23</sup> “By Wdm b. Ḥlq, and he grazed in the Lg, and he brought food for sale.” The other attestation is the noun *mr* in the term: *lʕmrt bn ʕʕd bn [ḥr]dn wʕyr snt whb hmlk hmr*<sup>24</sup> “By ʕmrt b. ʕʕd b. [Ḥr]dn, and he turned back in the year that the king offered the supplies or provisions.”

### *mlḥ*

The Safaitic tribesmen in Arabian Desert documented other kinds of commerce on stones. Certain inscriptions show their interest in the salt

<sup>20</sup> Winnett 1957, p. 32, n° 152.

<sup>21</sup> CIS, n° 2088.

<sup>22</sup> Mašāraqah 1988, pp. 336–338.

<sup>23</sup> Winnett 1957, p. 71, n° 463.

<sup>24</sup> CIS, n° 2746.

(*mlh*) trade. They used all the possible ways to be commercially active and serve others in surrounding areas. They also took advantage of their environment around to help them. The term is presented in one of the inscriptions: *l'ty bn wqs bn slm wmlh fhlt slm wgnmt wmhl l d y'wr*<sup>25</sup> “By ‘Ty b. Wqs b. Slm and he trades in salt. And sterility to whom destroys (the inscription). The Arabic lexicon supports the expression: “to get trade in salt”, in other cases, “provided by salt.”<sup>26</sup> This commercial activity was mentioned in Canaanite texts,<sup>27</sup> mainly as *mlhm*. At Hatra, *mlh* denotes to mine salt, and in Aramaic *mlh* to salt-herb.<sup>28</sup> Other Safaitic inscriptions indicate the presence of a “salt-mine”, where the Safaities extracted the salt. This is supported by the text: *lzd'l bn ngft bn 'ly bn dhy bn hwq bn kwnt bn šw' whdr hlqt mlh wdkr w'mt wslh h'bl mabr wzr' hrhbt fhlt slm wng't l d y'wr*.<sup>29</sup> The term *whdr hlqt mlh* means “prepared a pitfall to extract salt”. The word *hlqt* carries the consequence of the Arabic derivation *ḥaliqat* “a hollow was excavated just recently.”

Our suggestion is not based on the semantic element, but on the fact that the area of Jordan's Harra, mainly al-Azraq district, is still used to extract salt in the present. Another opinion suggests a new meaning for (*mlh*): *wbr'y mlh*<sup>30</sup> and *wšry mlh*.<sup>31</sup> Here the word *mlh* in the two inscriptions could be taken as (a) a place name where *Milh eš-Šarrār* was cited on the eastern south foot of Jabal Ḥaurān; (b) salt works. Moreover, the *wmlh* in inscriptions of WH 37 and 329, interpreted by Winnett as “travel,”<sup>32</sup> we think is better translated as “trading in salt.”

Vincent Clark identified a family known as *Gr*, who was involved in producing and extracting salt, *lmhl bn hd [d'l] gr wmlh*.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that *Gr* is one of Safaitic tribes that spread across both the Jordanian and Syrian Harra, mainly, around Jawa, Burqu', and Zulaf.<sup>34</sup> It can be concluded that the *Gr* tribe had a commercial relationship with the Nabataeans, who settled in Bostra and Ḥaurān in south Syria, or even with the newcomers the ‘Romans’, who lived in the Decapolis, which is located to the west of *Gr*.

<sup>25</sup> Winnett and Harding 1978, p. 39, n° 24.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Manẓour 1980x, vol. 2, p. 599–607.

<sup>27</sup> Tombaek 1978, p. 179.

<sup>28</sup> Hofstijzer and Jongeling 1995, p. 632.

<sup>29</sup> CIS, n° 4985.

<sup>30</sup> CIS, n° 2405.

<sup>31</sup> Littmann 1943, p. 50, n° 217.

<sup>32</sup> Winnett 1957, p. 11, n° 37 and p. 54, n° 329.

<sup>33</sup> Clark 1980, p. 320, n° 637.

<sup>34</sup> Rousān 1987, p. 286.

It seems that salt was a main, saleable commercial commodity. It played a pivotal role at the time of the Safaities — it was available in plenty, and it was in demand by the Nabataean markets and even perhaps by the north Arabian al-Ḥijāz markets. Needless to say, salt had a specific function for the Safaitic tribes. It was used to preserve meat. After hunting and slaughtering animals, their meat was cut in strips, spread in the sun, and finally cured with salt. This technique of curing meat is locally known as *qadid*.

The inscriptions also inform us that salt was necessary to keep the animals in a good health. Animals were fed a handful of salt placed in the palm of a hand, when desert citrus plants were rare: for instance, *l̥bn bn hwst bn ql wml̥ht nqth fhr̥d[y] slm*<sup>35</sup> “By *l̥bn* b. *Hwst* b. *Ql*, and he got his she-camel to eat salt. O, *Rd̥[y]*, give peace. The term *ml̥h* has been interpreted by Clark as “grew fat”. Our view differs and we interpret it as being linked to Arabic etymology of the term *mallaḥa* “put salt.”<sup>36</sup>

ʿlf

Safaitic inscriptions, through brief and enigmatic vocabularies, provide information that is shedding light on trading in ʿlf. We regard here the term *mng̣ʿt* or *mg̣ʿt*,<sup>37</sup> which means manger or trough. Mangers were used to put provender for feeding the animals, mainly when food was scarce, in dry seasons, drought, and war. The evidence is derived from the verb ʿlf<sup>38</sup> “to feed” in the Safaitic inscriptions: *l̥slh bn ṣdlh bn gdy wʿlf snt hr̥b nb̥t yhd* “By *l̥slh* b. *Ṣdlh* b. *Gdy*. And he fed (animals) in the year of war of *nb̥t* and *yhd*.”<sup>39</sup> S. ʿAbbādi interprets ʿlf as provender for animals, and in his note ʿlf signifies trade in provender mainly at the time of war.<sup>40</sup> This shows another source of income for the Safaitic tribes. This type of commerce would have been trade in provender.

A handful of inscriptions indicate that the Safaities used provender instead of pasture for animals such as in this inscription: *l̥ʾsd bn ṣ̌ʿ bn ḥg bn swd wʿlf hṃzy snt ḅš whgz hḅʿl smn ʿkd hḏn wḡnmt l̥d ḍy wʿwr l̥d ʿwr ḥḅṭṭ*<sup>41</sup> “By *l̥ʾsd* b. *ṣ̌ʿ* b. *Hg* b. *Wd*. And he fed the goats provender in the year

<sup>35</sup> Clark 1980, p. 190, n° 82.

<sup>36</sup> Clark 1980, p. 190, n° 82.

<sup>37</sup> Grimme 1929, p. 96, n° 213.

<sup>38</sup> ʿAbbādi 1996, p. 240.

<sup>39</sup> ʿAbbādi 1996, p. 240; see also CIS, n°s 2718; 2719; 3933.

<sup>40</sup> ʿAbbādi 1996, p. 241.

<sup>41</sup> Littmann 1943, p. 185, n° 722.

of drought and scarcity. O, *B'lsmn* give safety and booty who were wandering and errant, and give curse who damaged the inscription.”

### *qtt*

The term *qtt* provides an insight into a Safaitic market. It was a toponym called *Zm* in Najd of Arabia often taken as a safe place for large Arabian tribes mainly in winter. They used it as a starting point as they headed northwards in spring season.<sup>42</sup> See, for example, *lsmr bn štn qtt bzm*.<sup>43</sup> For *qtt* the Arabic lexical meaning shows that it stands for a huge market place, where plenty of goods are gathered.<sup>44</sup> This market was used in the Pre-Islamic periods. We would contend that *qtt* was used for selling and buying. This type of market could also be insured, *‘ukāz*, *du-al-majāz* and *du-al-majana*, when pilgrimage was held, as mentioned by the classical Arabian historians.

### *rhn*

The statement: *lbdnn bn f(l)q wtw(l rhn)*<sup>45</sup> “By *Bdnn* b. *F(l)q*, and he (put down a pledge)”, might show an evidence for another of commercial activity, known as pledge, which was widespread in the past.

### *šry*

This term adds a further dimension with regard to the Safaitic commerce, including sheep and camels. As we have said, buying and selling activities were frequently mentioned in Safaitic inscriptions. Some examples may help to illustrate this point. A tribesman called *Znn* had bought a she-camel from his brother for a hundred: *lžnn bn (w)d bn ‘d bn [’]d bn ḡt wšry m’ḥh ‘d hbkrt bm’t wšwq l’ bh w’ḥwh*<sup>46</sup>, with the same price another bought a camel: *ḥ..wšry mldn hgml bm’t whlt mḥlt ḥ*.<sup>47</sup> The price here is in question. Was it a measure unit? Or was it a coin/currency denomination? If the latter, it would refer to Nabataean or Romans coins, though no currency evidence has been found. The inscriptions are ambiguous about this aspect.

<sup>42</sup> Dussaud 1959, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> CIS, n° 1536.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Manẓour 1980, vol. 2, p. 177.

<sup>45</sup> Oxtoby 1968, p. 57, n° 102.

<sup>46</sup> CIS, n° 2832

<sup>47</sup> Rousān 2005, p. 237, n° 321



## Conclusion

Trade formed a pivotal role in the daily life of the Safaitic tribes, who established strong commerce relations with their neighbours — the Nabataeans in Bostra. Moreover, it was important for the Safaitic tribes to become an ally to the Romans, who guarded the routes through which the tribes had to pass.

Inscriptions are a key source of information for exploring the nature of Safaitic trade. The study has shown that there was a special terminology used to indicate economic and commercial activities. Moreover, inscriptions inform us on what was traded, which in some cases — prices, currency, measures, salt — are not attested archaeologically. We are also told that markets were named depending on the nature of the trade.

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# The Rite of the Consecration of the Church of Koskam

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## Abstract

*This paper studies the local tradition related to the commemoration of the Church of Koskam. It provides the Coptic liturgical texts used on this occasion with commentary. Despite the late date of this manuscript, and the many misspellings of the Coptic words, it reflects an important local rite that has hitherto never been published. As the level of knowledge of the scribe is very poor, we may assume that he copied them from another text written when Coptic was in use. The texts contain some Coptic extracts from the homily of Theophilus, which survive in Ethiopic, Syriac and Arabic. Our texts here are the unique witness of the Coptic version.*

## Introduction

The flight of the Holy family is a favourite theme for the Copts and even to the Ethiopians.<sup>1</sup> The mount of Koskam<sup>2</sup> plays a central part in this journey, according to a homily attributed to Theophilus, which was transmitted in three Christian Oriental languages: in Arabic, Syriac and Ethiopic.<sup>3</sup> The homily commemorates the consecration of the church of Koskam on 6 Hatur.

<sup>1</sup> For Copts see Gabra 2001; Meinardus 1987; Youssef 1999, pp. 48–55; for Ethiopians, see Sadek 2008, pp. 293–301.

<sup>2</sup> For this site cf. Timm 1991, pp. 2180–2191. Coquin and Martin “Dayr al-Muharraq”, *CE* 3, pp. 840–841; Viaud 1979, pp. 48–50.

<sup>3</sup> Geerard 1974, N° 2628, pp. 124–125.

## The Manuscript

This local rite survived in the Ms Paris Copte 123 fol.84r, which was copied by a monk of the monastery of al-Moharraq (Figs 1–2).

The description of this manuscript according to the catalogue of Delaporte is thus:

CANONS ET HYMNES (*bohairique*) pour les six premiers mois de l'année.  
 Ms. de 300 feuillets; 22 x 17 cm. Daté de 1601 E.M. [1883ap. J. C.].  
 Ce manuscrit est coté, au verso, de  $\bar{\alpha}$  à  $\bar{\tau}$ ; le chiffre  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$  est compté deux fois;  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$  a été oublié.  
 Titres en arabe. Le nom du mois en titre courant.  
 Don de la Mission permanente du Caire.  
*Invent.* : Copte 123.<sup>4</sup>

The manuscript is dated according to the Colophon in fol. 301r

وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك المسمى كتاب المردات في تاسع عشر من شهر  
 برمودة في سنة الف وستماية واحد للشهدا الاطهار  
 برکت صلواتهم وطلباتهم تكون معنا ومع كاتب هذه الاحرف الى الابد الابدين  
 امين  
 والمهتم بهذا الكتاب رئيس الدير القمص صليب وناقل هذه الاحرف القمص  
 دمتریوس احد اولاد الرهبان بالخرق ولربنا الشكر دائما ابد الابدين امين

The accomplishment of this blessed book, called the book of responses, was on the 19<sup>th</sup> of the month of Barmudah<sup>5</sup> in the year 1601 of the pure martyrs (= 1885), may the blessing of their prayers and their demands be with us and with the scribe of these letters, forever and ever Amen

The sponsor of this book is hegoumenos Salib,<sup>6</sup> the abbot of the monastery, and the scribe of these letters is hegoumenos Demetrius<sup>7</sup> one of the children monks in al-Muharraq,<sup>8</sup> Thanks be to our Lord eternally and forever and ever Amen.

<sup>4</sup> Delaporte 1912, p. 84 N° 103.

<sup>5</sup> 14 April (Julian), 26 April (Gregorian).

<sup>6</sup> Hegumen Salib Wabbah was originally from Kom Badr, Sohag, the abbot of the monastery of al-Muharraq from 1884–1905AD. He became monk in the year 1864 and ordained priest in 1870. Cf. Anba Gregorius 1968, pp. 202–204.

<sup>7</sup> It seems that this monk was named after the contemporary patriarch, Demetrius II (1862–1870). Cf. Mounir Shoucri "Demetrius II" *CE* 3, p. 893.

<sup>8</sup> Timm 1984, pp. 751–756.

It is important to mention that this monastery has several local traditions such as the procession of the Palm Sunday, which has a special rite in the monastery of Koskam.<sup>9</sup>

### The Text and Commentary

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الله واحد اليوم الاول السادس من  
هاتور تكريز دير الست السيدة بالخرق ذكصولوجية واطس

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God. The first Sixth day of Hathor, the consecration of the monastery of Lady, Madonna, in Muharraq, Doxology Watos.

<p>             ΗΣΑΝΑΣ ΠΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ              ΑΓΕΡΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΙΝ ΞΕΝ ΦΑΙ              ΧΕ Α ΠΒ̄C NAI ÑΘΡΗΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ              ΕΧΕΝ ΟΥΘΗΠΙ ΕCΑCΙΩΟΥ              ΕΥΕΡΖΟΥΤ ΞΑΤΖΗ ΜΠΒ̄C ΝΧΕ              ΝΙΡΕΜ ÑΧΗΜΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ*              ΕΥΕCΟΥΕΝ ΠΟΥΡΕΦΘΑΜΙΟ              ΕΥΕΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΠΕΡΜΘΟ              Α ΠΕΝΒ̄C ΙΗC ΠΧC              ΠΟΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ÑΝΟΥΤ              ΦΗΕΤΑΣΜΑCΦ ΝΧΕ              ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC<sup>11</sup> ΜΑΡΙΑ              ΤΜΑCΝΟΥΤ              ΑΓΙ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΠΚΑΖΙ ÑΧΗΜΙ              ΕΧΕΝ ΟΥΘΗΠΙ ΕCΑCΙΩΟΥ ΕΤΕ              ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΠΑ<sup>12</sup>Ρ ΘΗΕΘΥ ΕΘΜΕΖ              ÑΩΟΥ              ΕΡΕ ΠΕΝCΩΡ ΙΗC ΠΧC              ΡΤΑΛΗΟΥΤ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΕCΧΦΟΙ              ΕΦΟΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΧΙ ΝΑΛΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ              ΤΦΕΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ              ΕΡΕ ΙΩCΗΒ<sup>12</sup> ΠΙΞΕΛΛΟ ΕΘΥ              ΠΙΕΜΨΕ<sup>13</sup> ΕΤCΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ ΝΕΜ           </p>	<p>Isaiah the <i>prophet prophesied</i> thus:              “The Lord will come down to Egypt              on a light cloud</p> <p>All the Egyptians will fear the Lord,              and will know their creator and will              prostrate in front of Him.”<sup>10</sup></p> <p>Our Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> the <i>Only-Begot-</i>  <i>ten</i> God, whom the <i>Virgin</i> Mary the              God-Bearer gave birth to Him</p> <p>He came to the land of Egypt on a              light cloud which is the holy <i>Virgin</i>              Mary full of grace</p> <p>Our <i>Saviour</i> Jesus Christ was carried              on her arms being a young boy <i>ac-</i>  <i>cording to the economy</i></p> <p>The holy elder Saint Joseph the car-              penter, with saint Salome were with</p>
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<sup>9</sup> Viaud 1967–1968, pp. 211–226.

<sup>10</sup> Is 19: 1, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Read ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC

<sup>12</sup> Read ΙΩCΗΦ

<sup>13</sup> Read ΠΙΖΑΜΨΕ



And also a doxology Watos

<p>             α ΠΕΝΘ̄C ΙΗC ΠΧC ΠΩΗΡΙ Φ†<sup>18</sup>              ΑΛΗΘΟΣ ΦΗΕΤΑΥΜΑΣQ ΝΧΕ              †ΠᾹΡ̄ ΣΕΝ ΒΗΘΛΑΑΜ<sup>19</sup> ΝΤΕ              †ΟΥΔΑΕ<sup>20</sup>              ΟΥΟZ ΑΥΙ ΝΧΕ ΝΙΜΑΓΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ              CΑ ΠΑΙΕΒ†<sup>21</sup> ΕΟΥΩΥΤ ΜΜΟQ              ΑQΩΘΟΡΤΕΡ ΝΧΕ ΗΡΩΔΗC<sup>22</sup>              ΝΕΜ ΙΛΗΜ ΤΗΡC ΝΕΜΑQ              ΑQΚΩ† ΝΧΕ ΗΡΩΔΗC<sup>23</sup>              ΜΠΑΛΟΥ ΝΤΕQΣΟΥΤΕΒ<sup>24</sup>              ΑQΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC<sup>25</sup>              ΝΙΩCΗΦ ΠΑΙΔΙΕΟC              ΑQΖΩΝΖΕΝ<sup>26</sup> ΝΤΕQΒΙ ΜΠΑΛΟΥ              ΝΕΜ ΤΕQΜΑΥ ΑQΦΩΤ ΕΠΚΑΖΙ              ΝΧΑΜΙ<sup>27</sup> ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕQΩΠΙ              ΜΜΑΥ              ΑQΒΙ ΜΠΑΛΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΤΕQΜΑΥ              ΑQΙ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΧΗΜΙ              ΑΥΩΠΙ ΣΕΝ ΠΤΩΟΥ              ΝΚΟCΚΑΜ ΨΑ ΦΜΟΥ              ΝΗΡΩΔΗC<sup>28</sup>              ΜΕΝΕΝCΕ<sup>29</sup> †ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC              ΑQΘΩΟΥ† ΝΧΕ ΠΕΝCΩ̄Ρ̄ ΝΕΜ              ΤΕQΜΑΥ ΜΠᾹΡ̄ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΝΙΟ†              ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC              ΣΕΝ ΠΙΤΩΟΥ Ε̄Θ̄Ῡ ΟΥΟZ              ΑΓΙΑCΜΟC<sup>30</sup> ΜΜΟQ ΣΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ              Ν†ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟC<sup>31*</sup> ΣΕΝ ΠΙΜΑΖ Σ̄              ΝΑΘΩΡ           </p>	<p>             The <i>Virgin</i> gave birth to our Lord              Jesus <i>Christ</i> the <i>true</i> Son of God, in              Bethlehem of Judea                And the <i>magi</i> came from the East              worshipping Him, Herod was troubled              and all Jerusalem with him                Herod searched for the boy in order              to kill him. The <i>Angel</i> appeared to              Joseph the <i>righteous</i>                He ordered to take the boy and his              mother and to flee to the land of              Egypt <i>in order</i> to dwell there                He took the boy and his mother and              came down to the <i>country</i> of Egypt,              they dwelt in the mount of Koskam              till the death of Herod                After the <i>Resurrection</i>, our <i>Saviour</i> as-              sembled with his mother the <i>Virgin</i>              and our father the <i>Apostles</i>                In the holy mount and He conse-              crated it in the name of the <i>God-</i>  <i>Bearer</i> in the sixth of Athor           </p>
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<sup>18</sup> Read ΜΦ†

<sup>19</sup> Read ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ

<sup>20</sup> Read †ΙΟΥΔΑΕΑ

<sup>21</sup> Read ΠΑΙΕΒ†

<sup>22</sup> Read ΗΡΩΔΗC

<sup>23</sup> Read ΗΡΩΔΗC

<sup>24</sup> Read ΣΩΤΕΒ

<sup>25</sup> Read ΝΧΕ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC

<sup>26</sup> Read ΑQΖΩΝΖΕΝ

<sup>27</sup> Read ΝΧΗΜΙ

<sup>28</sup> Read ΗΡΩΔΗC

<sup>29</sup> Read ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ

<sup>30</sup> Read ΑQΕΡΑΓΙΑCΜΟC

<sup>31</sup> Read Ν†ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC



<p>             ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΙΠΙΣΤΟΣ<sup>32</sup>              ΝΙΩΗΡΙ ΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ              ΝΤΕΝΕΡΨΑΙ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΘΕΛΗΛ              ΞΕΝ ΟΥΨΑΙ ΜΠΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΟΥΟΖ              ΝΤΕΝΕΡΨΑΛΙΝ ΝΕΜ              ΠΙΖΥΜΝΟΤΟΣ ΔΑΓΙΑ ΧΕ ΘΑΙ              ΤΕ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΒ̄C ΔΡΕ<sup>33</sup>              ΝΙΘΜΗ ΨΑ<sup>34</sup> ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΣ              ΤΕΝΖΩC ΕΡΟQ ΤΕΝΤΩΟΥ              ΝΕQ<sup>36</sup> ΤΕΝΕΡΖΟΥΟ ΔΙCΙ ΜΜΟQ              ΖΩC ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΜΜΑΙΡΩΜΙ              ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΙΩΤ† ΝΝΑΙ           </p>	<p>             Let us come all o <i>faithful, orthodox</i>              sons in order to rejoice with happiness              in a <i>spiritual</i> feast           </p> <p>             And to praise with <i>psalmist</i> David:              “This is the <i>gate</i> of the Lord into              which the righteous shall enter<sup>35</sup> </p> <p>             We praise and glorify Him, and exalt              Him above all, as <i>Good</i> one and Lover              of mankind have mercy upon us <i>ac-</i>  <i>cording</i> to your great Mercy           </p>
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### Commentary

1. The first four stanzas are inspired by the Gospel of Matthew 2: 1–4, 13–15.

2. The fifth and the sixth stanzas are inspired by the Homily of Theophilus wherein the Virgin relates that after the Resurrection Christ and the Apostles all travelled miraculously on a cloud from Palestine to Koskam, where Christ personally consecrated the house as church.<sup>37</sup>

3. The last stanza occurs in many doxologies:

- the doxology of Nairouz,<sup>38</sup>
- the doxology of the fest of the Cross,<sup>39</sup>
- the doxology of the Paramone of the Nativity,<sup>40</sup>
- the doxology of the Paramone of the Epiphany,<sup>41</sup>
- the doxology of the feast of Cana,<sup>42</sup>
- the doxology of the feast of the Entry of the Lord to the temple,<sup>43</sup>
- the doxology of the feast of Annunciation,<sup>44</sup>
- the doxologies of the feast of Palm Sunday,<sup>45</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Read ω ΝΙΠΙΣΤΟΣ

<sup>33</sup> Read ερε

<sup>34</sup> Read ψε

<sup>35</sup> Ps. 118: 20.

<sup>36</sup> Read ναα

<sup>37</sup> Conti Rossini 1912, pp. 395–471, especially pp. 467–468.

<sup>38</sup> Psalmodia, p. 454.

<sup>39</sup> Psalmodia, p. 459.

<sup>40</sup> Psalmodia, p. 485.

<sup>41</sup> Psalmodia, p. 497.

<sup>42</sup> Psalmodia, pp. 506–507.

<sup>43</sup> Psalmodia, pp. 508–509.

<sup>44</sup> Psalmodia, pp. 543–544.

<sup>45</sup> Psalmodia, pp. 548–549; 551; 554.

- the doxology of the feast of Entry of Lord to Egypt,<sup>46</sup>
- the doxology of the feast of transfiguration.<sup>47</sup>

Which implies that this feast was considered as a Lordly feast in the Monastery of Koskam.

### دورة الانجيل عشية وباكر

ασογι ερατq nxe †ογρο <sup>48</sup> ϑαογνεμ <sup>49</sup> μμοκ πογρο ϑεν ϑανψτα† <sup>50*</sup>	The queen stood at the right of the King with border of garment <sup>51</sup>
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#### Commentary

This psalm [Ps. 44 (45): 10–11] is used for the feasts of the Virgin Mary during the Eucharist reading.<sup>52</sup>

### مرد انجيل عشية

The response of the Gospel of the Vesper

μαρεϑραψι <sup>53</sup> nem πθελη <sup>54</sup> nxe πψαφε nκοσκαμ χε αqι ψαρος <sup>55</sup> nxe πεncωρ nem τεqμαγ μπ̄ᾱρ ω nιλαος μμαip̄x̄c̄ αμωini τηρογ ϑεν ογ̄θελη nτεntaio n†π̄ᾱρ maria θμαγ nem εμμανογ̄ηλ	Let the desert of Koskam rejoice with happiness for our <i>Saviour</i> and his mother the <i>Virgin</i> came to it  O <i>people</i> Loving <i>Christ</i> , come all with happiness in order to honour the mother the <i>Virgin</i> Mary and Emmanuel
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<sup>46</sup> Psalmodia, pp. 569.

<sup>47</sup> Psalmodia, pp. 571.

<sup>48</sup> Read †ογρω

<sup>49</sup> Read ϑαογινam

<sup>50</sup> There is something missing. The scribe made a jump from the same to the same Ps 45:12 εcχολz εcσελcωλ noγ̄θo nρη†....Ps. 45:15 εcχολz ϑεν ϑανψτα† nιεβ nνογβ εσελcωλ noγ̄θo nρη†

<sup>51</sup> Ps 45: 10.

<sup>52</sup> De Fenoyl 1960, p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> Read μαρεqραψι

<sup>54</sup> Read nτεqθεληλ

<sup>55</sup> Read ψαροq

### Commentary

1. In the first stanza, the scribe unintentionally used the third person feminine to the verb because the subject “desert of Koskam” is feminine in Arabic, whereas the same word is masculine in Coptic.

2. The second stanza is an invitation to a pilgrimage centre. There are two other responses for the Gospel of the Vesper, which are irrelevant to the context.

3. The first is attested in a manuscript from the collection of the Monastery of St Anthony (dated 1377AM = 1661AD) and a manuscript from the collection of the Monastery of Suriani (dated 1414 AM = 1698 AD).<sup>56</sup>

ΩΟΥΝΙΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΝΑΗΤ ΧΕ ΝΘΩΟΥ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΙ ΝΩΟΥ ΩΝΙΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΗΕΘΥ ΞΕΝ ΠΟΥΖΗΤ ΧΕ ΝΘΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΤΟΥΝΑΙ ΝΩΟΥ	Blessed are the pitiful for they (are) those who will be pitied, Blessed are the pure in their heart for they (are) those who will be pitied. <sup>57</sup>
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The second is attested in a manuscript of the Church of the Angel Michael in Sabirbay (Near Tanta) (dated 1584 AM = 1868 AD).

ΑΙΝΑΕΡΖΗΤΣ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΒΙΨΩΟΥ ΝΤΑΧΩ ΜΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΨΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΜΑΥ ΝΝΗΕΘΩΝΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΙΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΧ̄	I will start with eagerness to say the honour of the <i>Virgin</i> , the mother of all the living, the <i>palace</i> of <i>Christ</i>
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لحن للعدري يقال في التوزيع

A hymn for the Virgin Mary to be said during the communion

ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΠΙΠΕΤΡΙΑΧΗΣ <sup>58</sup> ΠΤΟΧΟΣ <sup>59</sup> ΜΠΕΨΗΡΙ ΜΜΕΝΡΙΤ ΕΘΒΕ ΝΘΟΚ ΑΚΨΘΟΡΤΕΡ ΞΕΝ ΝΕΚΜΕΥΙ ΕΘΒΕ ΤΑΙΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΑΣΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΧΕ ΨΘΕΟΔΟΚΟΣ ΜΠΙΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΞΕΝ ΨΟΥΑΖ ΜΙ ΕΤΑΣΨΩΠΙ ΝΞΗΤΣ ΜΠΑΙΡΗΨ ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ	Theophilus the <i>Patriarch</i> the <i>successor</i> of your beloved Son, because you are troubled in your thoughts because of this church The <i>God-Bearer</i> appeared to the <i>Patriarch</i> Theophilus in what is added, what happened in it saying:
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<sup>56</sup> Samuel al-Suriani, 1984, p. 140.

<sup>57</sup> The text is not conform to the biblical version. Cf. Matthew 5:7.

<sup>58</sup> Read ΠΙΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ

<sup>59</sup> Read ΠΙΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ

<p>برلكس χε ανοκ πε μαρια          τωαρι<sup>60</sup> νιωακεμ<sup>61</sup> nem          κεanna ταμαγ εβολ ζεν          ονονι<sup>62</sup> nāāā nem τφγλη          νιογδα          nem πιχροχ ναβραам εται ι          ωαροκ εορεταμοκ εοβε          ταιεκκλησια nem          πεсmenepωωoγyи<sup>63</sup> ēōy          пима οηεταсωπι<sup>64</sup> nζηтq          nem πεωhρι<sup>65</sup> mμεnριт ζен          пχινтаμεnφωт εβολ za πzo          нhpoдhс          mπεpзωb epoc<sup>66</sup> nзлi an χε          γap πεωhρι<sup>67</sup> mμεnριт          αqepaγiazin mμοc<sup>68</sup> ζен          тeqoyиnam etбocι          αqзicен† yε<sup>69</sup> neз oγoз          αqтaχpнoyт зixен †пeтpa          αqepazin<sup>70</sup> yα nιγεneα          тhpoγ          μαpeнoγωyт mπeнc̄w̄p          eтaqι eзpнι eπтwoγ          нkockaм αqepaγiazin          mπiepφeι ζен φpaн          нтeqμαγ mπαρθeнoc</p>	<p>[Paralexis] “I am Mary, the daughter of Joachim and also Anna is my mother from the offspring of David and the <i>tribe</i> of Juda</p> <p>And the descendant of Abraham. I came to you in order to inform you about this <i>church</i> and its holy altar</p> <p>The place wherein I dwelt with my beloved Son while fleeing to Herod’s face</p> <p>Do not do anything for my beloved Son <i>consecrated</i> it with His elevated right (arm)</p> <p>He established forever firm on the <i>rock</i> he <i>consecrated</i> (it) for all the <i>generations</i></p> <p>Let us worship our <i>Saviour</i> who came to the mount of Koskam and <i>consecrate</i> the altar in the name of his mother the <i>Virgin</i></p>
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### Commentary

1. This hymn give a summary of the Vision or the homily attributed to Theophilus. This type of homilies’ summary is used widely in the book of the Glorifications.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Read τωepι

<sup>61</sup> Read νιωaκim

<sup>62</sup> Read οnoynι

<sup>63</sup> Read пeсmaнepωωoγyи

<sup>64</sup> Read φhεтaιωπι

<sup>65</sup> Read παωhρι

<sup>66</sup> Read epoc

<sup>67</sup> Read παωhρι

<sup>68</sup> Read mμοc

<sup>69</sup> Read yα

<sup>70</sup> Read eαqepaγiazin

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Youssef 1993, pp. 139–147. Youssef 1995, pp. 77–83.

2. During the rite of consecration of the altars the bishop or the Patriarch signs the altar with holy Myron (or water as in the consecration of the sanctuary of Benjamin). The text here refers to this gesture.

3. The consecration of a church after the name of the Virgin Mary became widespread after the council of Ephesus and the heresy of Nestorius against the mother of God.

وأيضا ذكصولجية اداام

And also a doxology Adam

<p>             ΘΩΟΥ† ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΦΟΟΥ              ΝΑΣΝΗΟΥ ΜΜΕΝΡΑ†              ΤΕΝΕΡΨΑΛΙΝ ΞΕΝ ΠΨΑΙ              Ν†ΜΕΣΝΟΥ†<sup>72*</sup>              ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΠΙΠΕΤΡΑΙΡΧΗΣ<sup>73</sup>              ΣΑΧΙ ΕΠΕΤΑΙΟ<sup>74</sup> ΝΤΕ              †ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΤΕ †ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟΣ              ΞΕΝ ΠΤΩΟΥ ΝΚΟΣΚΑΜ ΠΗ              ΜΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΗΕΤΑΣΨΩΠΙ ΝΞΗΤΩ              ΝΕΜ ΠΕΣΨΗΡΙ ΝΜΕΝΡΙΤ              ΙΩΑ ΠΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΠΨΗΡΙ              ΝΖΕΒΕΔΕΟΣ ΠΙΜΕΝΡΙΤ ΝΤΕ              ΠΧΣ ΑΜΟΥ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΜΦΟΟΥ              ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΚΤΑΜΩΝ ΞΕΝ              ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗΙΣΑ ΞΕΝ ΠΩ<sup>75</sup> ΝΕΜ              ΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΘΗΕΘΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ              ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΧΕ* ΑΙΝΑΥ              ΕΟΥΜΗΝΙ ΕΑΣΟΥΩΝΖ ΞΕΝ              ΘΜΗ† ΝΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ              ΟΥΣΖΙΜΙ ΑΣΧΩΛΖ ΜΦΡΗ ΠΙΟΖ              ΞΑ ΝΑΣΒΑΛΑΥΧ ΙΒ ΝΣΙΟΥ              ΝΧΛΟΜ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΕΣΑΦΑ<sup>76</sup>              ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΑΦΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΩ              ΞΕΝ ΟΥΝΙΩ† ΝΧΩΝΤ              ΑΦ†ΜΒΟΝ ΕΡΟΣ              ΑΣΦΩΤ ΝΧΕ †ΣΖΙΜΙ              ΜΠΕΦΜΘΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΖΙ              ΠΨΑΦΕ ΝΣΕΝΑΨΑΝΩ ΜΜΑΥ           </p>	<p>Assemble all my beloved brethren today in order to <i>sing</i> in the feast of the Mother of God</p> <p>Theophilus the <i>patriarch</i> talks about the honour of the <i>Church</i> of the <i>God-bearer</i></p> <p>In the mount of Koskam, the house of Mary wherein she dwelt with her beloved Son</p> <p>John the <i>Chaste</i>, the son of Zebedeus, the beloved of <i>Christ</i>, come to us today</p> <p><i>In order to</i> inform us <i>clearly</i> about the glory and honour of Saint Mary</p> <p>The <i>Theologian</i> said: "I saw a wonder which appeared in the <i>heaven</i></p> <p>A woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet, twelve stars {as} a crown on her head</p> <p>And a <i>dragon</i> stood with great wrath and he made her angry</p> <p>The woman fled from him in the desert in order to be fed there"<sup>77</sup></p>
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<sup>72</sup> Read †ΜΑΣΝΟΥ†

<sup>73</sup> Read ΠΙΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ

<sup>74</sup> Read ΠΤΑΙΟ

<sup>75</sup> Read ΠΙΩΟΥ

<sup>76</sup> Read ΤΕΣΑΦΕ

<sup>77</sup> Rev. 12:1–7.

<p>†CZIMI ΠΕ †Π̄Ᾱ<sup>Θ</sup>Ρ ΟΥΟΖ  ΠΑΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΕΤΖΩΟΥ ΠΕ  ΗΡΟΔΗΣ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΑΣΕΒΗΣ  ΠΩΑΦΕ ΕΑΣΦΩΤ ΕΡΟΣ ΠΕ  ΝΤΩΟΥ ΝΚΟΣΚΑΜ*  ΘΗΕΤΑΣΩΠΙ ΝΣΗΤQ ΝΕΜ  ΠΕCΩΗΡΙ ΜΜΕΝΡΙΤ  ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΤΩΟΥ ΕΘ̄Υ  ΦΗΕΤΑQ†ΜΑ† ΝΧΕ Φ† ΨΩΠΙ  ΝΣΗΤQ ΝΕΜ ΤΕQΜΑΥ  ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ  ΝΕΜ ΠΙΣΕΛΛΟΙ<sup>79</sup> ΙΩCΗΦ  ΠΑΜΨΑ<sup>80</sup> ΕΤCΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ ΝΕΜ  Θ̄ΗΕΥ CΕΛΩΜΗ<sup>81</sup> †CΩΤΠ  ΜΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ  Φ† ΝΤΕ ΠΩΟΥ  ΦΗΕΤΑQΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ  ΑQΩΠΙ ΣΕΝ ΤΕΝΜΗ† ΣΕΝ  ΠΙΤΩΟΥ ΝΚΟΣΚΑΜ  ΜΑΡΕΝ†ΩΟΥ ΜΠΕΝCΩ̄Ρ ΝΕΜ  ΤΕQΜΑΥ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΧΕ  ΝΘΟQ ΑQΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑQCΩ† ΜΜΟΝ  ΖΙΤΕΝ*</p>	<p>The Woman is the <i>Virgin</i> and the evil  <i>Dragon</i> is the <i>impious</i> king Herod</p> <p>The desert wherein she fled is the  mount of Koskam, where she dwelt  with her beloved Son</p> <p>This is the holy mount, God has de-  lighted to dwell in,<sup>78</sup> with his mother  the <i>Virgin</i></p> <p>And the blessed elder Joseph the car-  penter and saint the pure chosen,  Salome.</p> <p>God of glory who appeared to  Abraham dwelt in our midst in the  mount of Koskam</p> <p>Let us glorify our <i>Saviour</i> and his  Mother <i>the Virgin</i> for He came and  saved us  Through</p>
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### Commentary

1. The first stanza is an invitation for the pilgrims to come.
2. The second stanza makes allusion to the homily of Theophilus.<sup>82</sup>
3. The quotation of Rev. 12: 1–7 is also used in the Theotokia<sup>83</sup> of Thursday, part 9:

a. “I saw a miracle that appeared in Heaven, a woman is clothed with the sun and the moon also was under her feet. Upon her head was a crown of twelve stars, she being with a child cried out in labour and in pain to give birth. This is Mary, the New heaven on earth, the sun of Righteous shines upon us from her. For the Sun that is clothing her, is our Lord Jesus Christ, and the moon under her feet is John

<sup>78</sup> Ps. 67 (68): 15–16.

<sup>79</sup> Read ΠΙΣΕΛΛΟ

<sup>80</sup> Read ΠΙΖΑΜΨΕ

<sup>81</sup> Read CΑΛΩΜΗ

<sup>82</sup> See above.

<sup>83</sup> For the Theotokias cf. Youssef 1997, pp. 153–170; 2003, p 93–108; 2004, pp. 127–140.

the Baptist. For the crown of the twelve stars, upon her head, is the twelve apostles, who surround her, and honour her. Therefore all ye nations, let us glorify the Virgin, for she gave birth to God and her virginity remained sealed.”<sup>84</sup>

b. While Hippolytus of Rome, identified the Woman as the *Church* and the boy as *Logos*.<sup>85</sup>

4. The interpretation of the Dragon as Herod and the wilderness as the desert of Koskam is unique for this text.

5. The name of Salome is known in many apocryphal gospels<sup>86</sup> as well in liturgical texts such as the Synaxarium.

6. The comparison between the apparition of God to Abraham and the dwelling in Koskam is also a unique feature of this text.

وأیضا ذكصولوجية ادام

And also a Doxology Adam

<p>             хере наѿѿ нιοѿ              напостолос ннѣтаγφωψ              ερρεγ<sup>87</sup> ннихωρα мпикосмос              хере пенιωτ петрос тафе              нνιαпостолос ѣта пωηρι              мѿѿ таλε τεφχιχ εροq              хере анδριαс псон              мпетрос пимаζѿ ѿен              ѿмоγѿ<sup>88</sup> напостолос              хере ιακωв пωηρι              нзаβεдеос фнѣтаqнаγ              епωογ мѿѿ ριχѣн пιτωογ              хере ιω̅α̅ πιπα̅<sup>ο̅ρ̅</sup> εθογав              фнѣтаqμενρε εѿѿ εѿве              πιτογво              хере варѿолоεос фнѣта              νεq*саχι нем неqριωιψ              εѿ̅γ̅ μαζ мпикосмос τηρq           </p>	<p> <i>Hail to our fathers the Apostles who divided between them the countries of the World</i>  <i>Hail to our father Peter the head of the Apostles, whom the Son of God stretched his hand upon him</i>  <i>Hail to Andrew the brother of Peter the second among the Apostles.</i>    <i>Hail to James son of Zabeddeus who saw the glory of God on the mountain.<sup>89</sup></i>  <i>Hail to John the holy chaste, who loved God because of the purity</i>    <i>Hail to Bartholomew whom his speeches and his holy preaches fill the whole World</i> </p>
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<sup>84</sup> Psalmidia, pp. 219–221.

<sup>85</sup> Quasten 1956, pp. 241–242.

<sup>86</sup> Robinson 1896, p. 133.

<sup>87</sup> Read  $\epsilon_2 p \in N$ .

<sup>88</sup> Read ΘΜΗ†

<sup>89</sup> Matthew 17: 1–9, Mark 9: 1–9, Luke 9: 28–35.

<p>             χερε φιλιππος φηεταρχος              μπδ̄ς χε ματαμων εφιωτ              ουορ χαν ερον              χερε θωμας πιωνι              ммаргарітнс φηεταρχω              нтеqχιχ ςεν сfir μπ̄ς              χερε μετθεος              πιεγαγγελιστης πιαναμνι              ммнι нте ꙗекκλнсiα              χερε iακωβ πωнρι              нелфеωс χερε сymeωн              πικανанеос              χερε θηαδεος πιρεqερzεμι              нсофос φηετε наqсвωoy<sup>92</sup>              μοz μπικосмос*              χερε μεθ̄τιας πιχλιμα<sup>93</sup>              мвері φηετε κληρος еси              еzрнi εχωq              χερε пеніωт μαρκос              φηεταqероyωini              налаzанаріа nem тхωра              нхнмi              χερε λοyκας пичинi ммнi              ουοz пiмаz̄ neγαγγελιστης              χερε пеніωт παyλος т̄zαе              ммωoy тнροy φηεταqωπι              мīг напостолос              наi етаyχωк евол евол              н̄т̄профн̄тiа нта<sup>95</sup> пеніωт              даyia ποyρο μπīс̄λ              χε α ποȳςρωoy ѱεnaq              zιχεν пкаzι тнрq*           </p>	<p> <i>Hail to Philip who said to the Lord              show us the Father and this is              enough.<sup>90</sup></i>  <i>Hail to Thomas the precious stone              who put his hand in the rib of Christ<sup>91</sup></i>    <i>Hail to Matthew the Evangelist, the              true pearl of the Church</i>    <i>Hail to James son of Alpheus, Hail to              Simon of Cana</i>    <i>Hail to Thaddeus the wise guide,              which his teachings fill the World.</i>    <i>Hail to Matthias the new shoot              (grafted) which the lot fell upon              him<sup>94</sup></i>  <i>Hail to our father Mark, who enlight-              ened Alexandria and the country of              Egypt</i>    <i>Hail to Luke the true physician and              the third of the Evangelist.</i>  <i>Hail to our father Paul, the last of all              of them who became the thirteenth              apostle</i>  <i>They accomplished the prophecy              which our father David the king of              Israel:</i>  <i>“their voice is gone out to the whole              world.”<sup>96</sup></i> </p>
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### Commentary

It is amazing to find this doxology in the corpus of texts relating to the consecration of the Church of Koskam. It seems that either some stanza,

<sup>90</sup> John 14: 8.

<sup>91</sup> John 20: 26–29.

<sup>92</sup> Read **неqсвωoy**

<sup>93</sup> Read **πικλнмa**

<sup>94</sup> Acts 1:26.

<sup>95</sup> Read **нте**

<sup>96</sup> Ps. 17 (18): 3–4.



narrating how the Apostles came to Koskam to attend the consecration of the Church, are missing, or this doxology was misplaced in the manuscript.

القانون

The Canon

<p>ΕΡΕ ΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΤΕ †ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΦΣΑΧΙ ΕΘΒΗΤΣ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΠΑΡΗΣΙΑ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ<sup>97</sup> ΣΟΦΙΑ<sup>98</sup> ΝΙΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΑΖΙ ΣΕΜΩΙ ΞΕΝ ΠΕΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΙΕΘΝΟΣ ΞΕΝ ΠΕΦΙΡΙ ΟΥ<sup>99</sup> ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΜΑΥ ΜΦ†</p>	<p>The honour of the <i>church</i> of the <i>God-Bearer</i> Mary, Theophilus <i>spoke</i> about it <i>clearly</i> and <i>wisely</i></p> <p>All the kings of the earth walk in your light and the <i>nations</i> in your brightness O Mary the Mother of God</p>
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Commentary

The first stanza is the mixture between a stanza from the glorification and a stanza mentioned above

The second stanza is taken from the second part of the Theotokia of Wednesday,<sup>100</sup> which is inspired from Is. 60:3, Rev. 21:24.

مرد انجيل باكر

Response of the Gospel of the Matins

<p>ΙΗC ΠΧC ΝΕΜ ΤΕΦΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΥΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΤΩΟΥ ΝΚΟΣΚΑΜ ΑΦΕΡΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΞΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ Ν†ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟΣ ΤΕΝΩΟΥ<sup>101</sup> ΝΕ ΞΕΝ ΖΑΝΨΑΛΙΑ †ΒΡΟΜΠΨΑΛ ΝΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ* ΘΜΑΥ ΕΠΧC ΦΡΑΨΙ ΝΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ</p>	<p>Jesus <i>Christ</i> and his mother Mary came down to the mount f Koskam, he <i>consecrated</i> it in the name of the <i>God-Bearer</i></p> <p>We glorify you with <i>hymns</i>, o <i>pure</i> turtledove, the mother of <i>Christ</i>, the joy of the <i>Angels</i></p>
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<sup>97</sup> Add ΝΧΕ

<sup>98</sup> Read ΞΕΝ ΟΥCΟΦΙΑ

<sup>99</sup> Read ω

<sup>100</sup> Psalmody, p.187.

<sup>101</sup> Read ΤΕΝ†ΩΟΥ

### Commentary

1. The first stanza is in the manuscript from the collection of the Monastery of St Anthony (dated 1377AM = 1661AD) and a manuscript from the collection of the Monastery of Suriani (dated 1414 AM = 1698 AD).<sup>102</sup>
2. The second stanza is irrelevant to the feast.
3. There is another response attested in a manuscript of the Church of the Angel Michael in Sabirbay (Near Tanta) (dated 1584 AM= 1868 AD).

<p>             ΝΘΩ ΓΑΡ Ε ΠΕΝΖΕΛΠΙΣ ΞΕΝ              ΟΥΖΟΧΖΕΧ Ω †ΠΑ<sup>Θ</sup>Ρ ΜΑΡΙΑ              [ΤΕΝ]ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ[ΗC] ΝΑΖΡΕΝ              ΠΕCΩΗΡΙ ΠΧC           </p>	<p> <i>For You are our hope in the distress, o              Virgin Mary, our suppliant in front of              your Son, Christ</i> </p>
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مرد انجيل القدااس

Response for the Gospel of the Eucharist

<p>             ΞΕΝ ΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΜΑ Ξ ΝΑΘΩΡ              ΑΘΩΟΥ† ΝΧΕ ΠΕΝCΩΡ ΝΕΜ              ΝΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΞΕΝ ΠΤΩΟΥ              ΝΚΟCΚΑΜ              ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΕΡΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ ΜΠΙΕΡΦΕΙ              ΝΕΜ ΠΙΜΕΝΕΡΩΟΥΩΥΙ<sup>103</sup>              ΞΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ Ν†ΘΡΙΑC<sup>104</sup> ΕΘΥ              ΝΕΜ ΜΑΡΙΑ †ΠΑ<sup>Θ</sup>Ρ           </p>	<p>             In the sixth day of Hatur, our <i>Saviour</i>              assembled with his <i>disciples</i> in the              mount of Koskam                And he <i>consecrated</i> the temple and al-              tar in the name of the Holy <i>Trinity</i>              and the <i>Virgin Mary</i> </p>
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### Commentary

1. These two stanzas are adequate to the feast and are inspired by the homily of Theophilus.
2. There are two other responses for the Gospel of the Vesper, which are irrelevant to the context.
3. The first is attested in a manuscript from the collection of the Monastery of St Anthony (dated 1377AM = 1661AD) and a manuscript from the collection of the Monastery of Suriani (dated 1414 AM = 1698 AD).<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Samuel al-Suriani 1984, p. 140.

<sup>103</sup> Read ΠΙΜΑΝΕΡΩΟΥΩΥΙ

<sup>104</sup> Read Ν†ΤΡΙΑC

<sup>105</sup> Samuel al-Suriani, 1984, p.141.

<p>ᾠΦΡΗ† ΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΣΩΟΥ  αϞΑΜΟΝΙ ΜΠΕϞΟΖΙ ΝΕΣΩΟΥ  ΝΖΡΗΙ ΞΕΝ ΠΕϞΧΦΟΙ ΕΤΒΟCΙ  ϞΝΑΘΩΟΥ† ΝΖΙΗΒ</p>	<p>He feeds his flock like a shepherd and he shall gather the lambs with his elevated arm.<sup>106</sup></p>
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The second is attested in a manuscript of the Church of the Angel Michael in Sabirbay (Near Tanta) (dated 1584 AM = 1868 AD).

<p>χερε πιερφει ντε φ† χερε  πιϞρονος μπᾱc̄ χερε  †c̄κγνη μμαζ β† μαρια  †βρομπι εθναςωc</p>	<p><i>Hail to the temple of God, Hail to the throne of Christ, Hail to the second tabernacle, Mary the beautiful dove.</i></p>
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الاسبس

The Aspasmos

<p>αγκωτ ν†εκκληcια ετΞΕΝ  πιτωου νκοcκεμ<sup>107</sup> ΞΕΝ  φραν μμαρια †πᾱ̄Ϟ̄ρ̄ ε̄Ϟ̄  αγκωτ μπιμαρερψωουγυ  ΞΕΝ Ϟμη† μπιερφει αγχω  ντχιχ̄ ε̄Ϟ̄ ντε φηετβοcι</p>	<p>They built the <i>church</i> in the mount of Koskam in the name of the holy <i>Virgin</i>  They built the altar in the middle of the temple and they lay the holy Hand of the Most High</p>
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*Commentary*

1. The first stanza is attested in the manuscript of St Anthony and the manuscript of Suriani.<sup>108</sup>

2. The second one is not attested elsewhere.

## Conclusion

The rite of the Feast of 6 Hatur, in the monastery of al-Moharraq, Koskam, combines the rite of the Lordly feasts and the rite of feasts of the Virgin.

<sup>106</sup> Is 40: 11.

<sup>107</sup> Read **ΚΟCΚΑΜ**.

<sup>108</sup> Samuel al-Suriani 1984, p.141.

This is apparent from:

- a. The use of the last stanza of the Doxology with a special Alleluia.
- b. The use of the last stanza of the Lordly doxologies.
- c. The Psalm is used of the feast of the Virgin

Despite the late date of this manuscript, and the many misspelling of the Coptic words, it reflects an important local rite that had never been published before. As the level of knowledge of the scribe is very poor, we may assume that he copied from another text written when Coptic was in use. It contains some Coptic extracts from the homily of Theophilus, which survive in Ethiopic, Syriac and Arabic, our texts here are the unique witness of the Coptic version.

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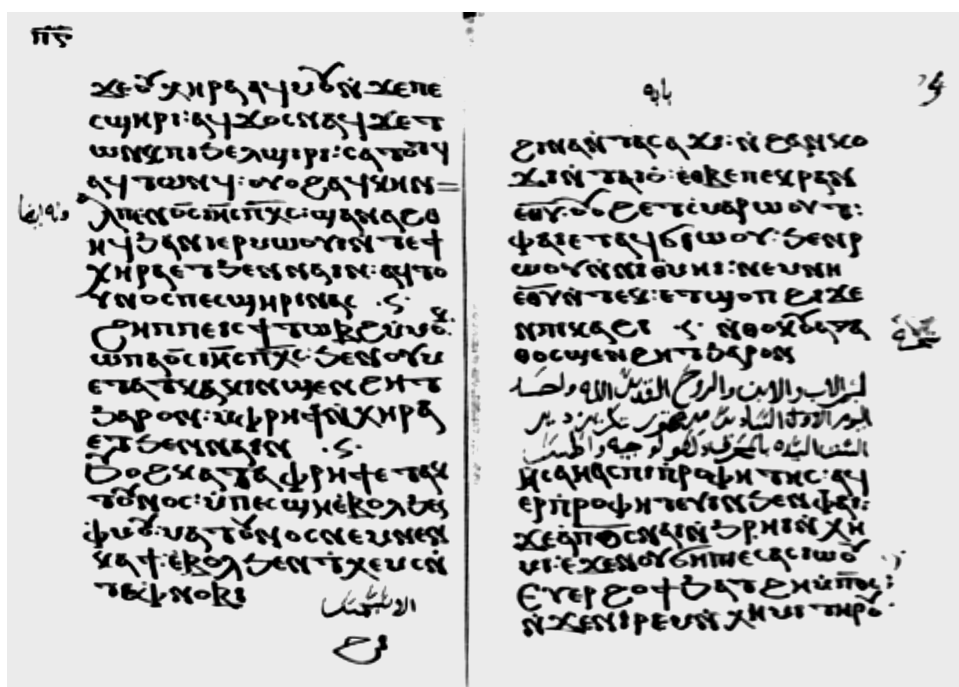
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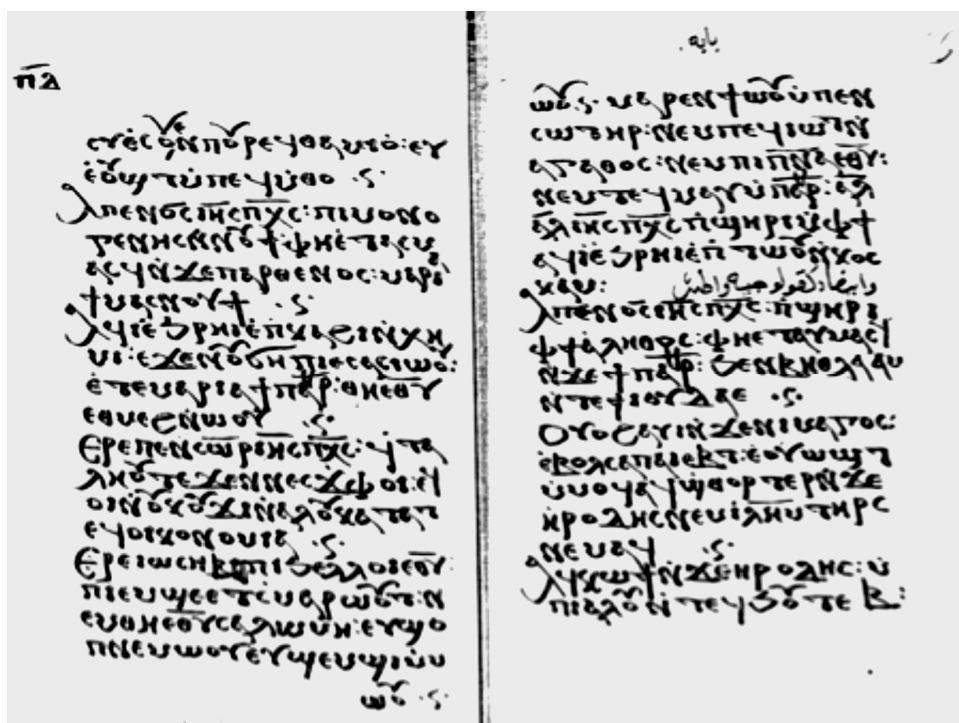
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I.



2.

Fig. 1. 1 Ms Paris Copte 123 fol. 84r: "The title of the commemoration in Arabic".

2 Ms Paris Copte 123 fol. 84v-85r: "Doxology Adam and Batos".



Fig. 2. Ms Paris Copte 123 fol. 91v: "The response of the Gospel and Aspasmos".



# Tiglath-pileser III's Aid to Ahaz: A New Look at the Problems of the Biblical Accounts in Light of the Assyrian Sources

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## Abstract

*This study examines the discrepancy in the biblical text's account of Tiglath-pileser III's aid to Ahaz during the Syro-Ephraimite crisis in light of the Assyrian sources. II Kings 16:5–9 (and Isaiah 7) states that Tiglath-pileser helped Ahaz by repelling the attacks of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition, while II Chronicles 28:5–21 proclaims that Tiglath-pileser failed to help the Judean king. Previous studies have attempted to resolve the textual conflict by way of literary analysis or textual emendation. By undertaking an historical methodology of the biblical text and an examination of the Assyrian sources, the case is made that while the biblical accounts contradict each other in specific areas, there are key elements that are historically accurate in both accounts which are in complete accord with the Assyrian sources, and in turn clarify the biblical accounts.\**

This article will examine the contexts of the passages in the Hebrew Bible that relate to Tiglath-pileser III's movements in Syria-Palestine and his

\* This article is dedicated to Dr Noel K. Weeks of the University of Sydney. Now at the close of his teaching career, this study aims to pursue an historical problem abiding by the two central instructions Dr Weeks gave to the apprentice historians in his lectures and seminars. The first is to look at what is written in the ancient text, not what the secondary literature says about it. The second is a quote from the late Professor C. H. Gordon, who was one of Dr Weeks' teachers at Brandeis: "Any fool can amend a text, but it takes a true scholar to it solve it as it stands". It is my great honour to humbly present this paper to my former teacher, who is for me the unsung hero of Ancient Near Eastern studies in Australia, in the hope of fulfilling the two criteria outlined for a young historian.

aid to Ahaz of Judah: namely, II Kings 16:5–9 and II Chronicles 28:5–21, and where appropriate the account in Isaiah 7:1–17 will also be considered. It will be suggested that what at first appears to be a discrepancy between the biblical books can rather be viewed, with the aid of the contemporary Assyrian sources, as reflection of the different emphases of the author of Kings and the Chronicler.<sup>1</sup> The thesis proposed in the discussion that follows is in complete accord with the books of II Kings, II Chronicles as well as Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions.

In the years 733–732,<sup>2</sup> Tiglath-pileser campaigned in Syria-Palestine in order to dismantle the Syro-Ephraimite alliance. The alliance consisted of Tyre, Damascus and the northern kingdom of Israel. These states were recorded as tribute bearers to Tiglath-pileser III in the years from 740–738.<sup>3</sup> However, during the years that followed, these states formed an alliance against Judah, leading to a conflict that is reported in II Kings 16:5–9 and II Chronicles 28:5–21. There is some debate as to whether or not the reason for the Syro-Ephraimite coalition's attack on Judah was an anti-Assyrian movement or a continuation of an existing territorial conflict in the Trans-Jordanian region.<sup>4</sup>

There are significant discrepancies in the two biblical accounts of the conflict. A number of scholars have attempted to harmonise the two versions of the Syro-Ephraimite war by linguistic and textual criticism, or by identifying the difference between the ideological-theological aims and attitudes of the author of Kings and the Chronicler. At the heart of any interpretation is how we understand the relationship between Kings (and Samuel for that matter) and Chronicles. While we do not have the time or space to offer a detailed evaluation of the relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, it has been accepted here that the books of Chronicles were composed later than Samuel-Kings.<sup>5</sup> This is not to say, as is often argued, that Samuel-Kings is a more reliable source than Chronicles. Rather, that the Chronicler produced a work that indicated that he had knowledge of Samuel-Kings and expanded on it to create a different em-

<sup>1</sup> By 'author of Kings' and 'Chronicler' I do not contend that these works were necessarily the efforts of one particular individual. Rather, they are designations of convenience.

<sup>2</sup> The dates are all BCE and follow those of Tadmor 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Annal 13:10–12, in Tadmor 1994, pp. 68–69.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of alternate points of views, see Begrich 1927; Oded 1972, pp. 153–165; Otzen 1979, pp. 255–261; Bright 1981, p. 273; Irvine 1990; Na'aman 1991, p. 92; and Blenkinsopp 2000, pp. 229–230 and Doubrovský 2006, p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Klein 1992, esp. pp. 995–997, Gottwald 1987, pp. 514–517, and Kalimi 2005, pp. 1–2, are representative of this notion. For a differing opinion, see Auld 1999; Rainey 1997; Rezetko 2003; and Person 2007.

phasis. This notion is a key element to the interpretations of this problem and the reason for taking this position will become clear in the discussed below.

The two accounts of the Syro-Ephraimite war are as follows:

## II KINGS 16:5–9

<sup>(5)</sup> Then king Rezin of Aram and King Pekah son of Remaliah of Israel advanced on Jerusalem for battle. They besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome [him]. <sup>(6)</sup> At that time King Rezin of Aram recovered Elath for Aram; he drove out the Judahites from Elath, and the Edomite came to Elath and settled there, as is still the case.

<sup>(7)</sup> Ahaz sent messengers to King Tiglath-pileser of Assyria to say, “I am your servant and your son; come and deliver me from the hands of the king of Aram and the king of Israel, who are attacking me.” <sup>(8)</sup> Ahaz took the gold and silver that were on hand in the House of the LORD and in the treasuries of the royal palace and sent them as a gift to the king of Assyria. <sup>(9)</sup> The king of Assyria responded to his request; the king of Assyria marched against Damascus and captured it. He deported *its inhabitants* to Kir and put Rezin to death.

## II Chronicles 28:5–21

<sup>(5)</sup> The LORD his god delivered him over to the king of Aram, who defeated him and took many of his men captive, and brought them to Damascus. He was also delivered over to the king of Israel, who inflicted a great defeat on him. <sup>(6)</sup> Pekah son of Ramaliah killed 120,000 in Judah—all brave men—in one day, because they had forsaken the LORD God of their fathers. <sup>(7)</sup> Zichri, the champion of Ephraim, killed Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam chief of the palace, and Elkanah, the second to the king. <sup>(8)</sup> The Israelites captured 200,000 of their kinsmen, woman, boys, and girls; they also took a large amount of booty from them and brought the booty to Samaria.

<sup>(9)</sup> A prophet by the name of Oded was there, who went out to meet the army on its return to Samaria. He said to them, “Because of the fury of the LORD God of your fathers against Judah, he delivered them over to you, and you killed them in a rage that reached heaven. <sup>(10)</sup> Do you now intend to subjugate the men and women of Judah and Jerusalem to be your slaves? As it is, you have nothing but offenses against the LORD your God. <sup>(11)</sup> Now then, listen to me, and send back the captives you have taken from your kinsmen, for the wrath of the LORD is upon you!” <sup>(12)</sup> Some of the chief men of the Ephraimites — Azariah son of Jehohenen, Berechiah son of Meshillemoth, Jehizkiah son of Shallum, and Amasa son of Hadlai — confronted those returning from the campaign <sup>(13)</sup> and said to them, “Do not bring these captives here, for it would mean our offending the LORD, adding to our sins and our offenses; for our offense is grave enough, and there is already wrath upon Israel.” <sup>(14)</sup> So the soldiers released the captives and the

booty in the presence of the officers and all the congregation. <sup>(15)</sup> Then the men named above proceeded to take the captives in hand, and with the booty they clothed all the naked among them — they clothed them and shod them and provided donkeys for all who were failing and brought them, to Jericho, the city of palms, back to their kinsmen. Then they returned to Samaria.

<sup>(16)</sup> At that time, King Ahaz sent to the king of Assyria for help. <sup>(17)</sup> Again the Edomites came and inflicted a defeat on Judah and took captives. <sup>(18)</sup> And the Philistines made forays against the cities of the Shephelah and the Negeb of Judah; they seized Beth-Shemesh and Aijalon and Gederot, and Soco with its villages, and Timnah with its villages, and Gimzo with its villages; and they settled there. <sup>(19)</sup> Thus the LORD brought Judah low on account of King Ahaz of Judah,<sup>6</sup> for he threw off restraint in Judah and trespassed against the LORD. <sup>(20)</sup> Tillegath-pilneser, king of Assyria, marched against him and gave him trouble, instead of supporting him. <sup>(21)</sup> For Ahaz plundered the House of the LORD and the house of the king and the officers, and made a gift to the king of Assyria—to no avail.

The book of Isaiah also attests to the Syro-Ephraimite war, but due to its prophetic style, less ‘historical’ information is given. The most relevant section for this study is 7:1–2, though other scholars have also considered the rest of chapter seven and beyond.<sup>7</sup> Isaiah 7:1–2 is as follows:

<sup>(1)</sup> In the reign of Ahaz son of Uzziah, king of Judah, King Rezin of Aram and King Pekah son of Remaliah of Israel marched upon Jerusalem to attack it; but they were not able to attack it. <sup>(2)</sup> Now, when it was reported to the House of David that Aram had allied itself with Ephraim, their hearts and the hearts of their people trembled as trees of the forest sway before a wind.

This is followed by the story of the prophet Isaiah’s warning and prophecy to Ahaz that he must not join the Syro-Ephraimite league, nor to call on Assyria for aid (7:3–8:23). For the most part Isaiah 7:1–2 agrees with the account given in II Kings 16:5.

There are four striking discrepancies between the accounts in Kings and Chronicles. The first discrepancy concerns the enemy’s forces attacking Judah. II Kings 16:5–9 places Ahaz’s plea for Assyrian support in the context of the Syro-Ephraimite crisis (as supported by Isaiah 7:1–2), while the Chronicler indicates that it was the attack of the Edomites and the Philistines from the south and east that led to Ahaz turning to Assyria for help. The Chronicler’s account of the Syro-Ephraimite crisis occurs in

<sup>6</sup> The MT has “Israel”, but some mss. and ancient versions read ‘Judah’, see Berlin and Brettler 2004, p. 1807, n. a.

verses 5–15 and is treated separately from the Edomite and Philistine conflict. Further, the Edomite-Philistine conflict is absent from II Kings and Isaiah 7. The second is the conflicting statements in II Kings 16:5 and II Chronicles 28:5 regarding the success of the Syro-Ephraimite alliance's invasion of Judah. The authors of Kings and Isaiah clearly state that the allies could not defeat Judah. However, the Chronicler gives an account of the numbers of Judean fatalities and the allies' deportation of the Judean people. The third discrepancy is the result of Ahaz's plea to Tiglath-pileser. II Kings 16:7–9 details Ahaz's petition to Tiglath-pileser and how Tiglath-pileser responded by defeating the Syro-Ephraimite alliance. II Chronicles 28:16, 20–21 states that, in the face of Ahaz's payment, Tiglath-pileser did not help him, despite the statement in verse 20 that Tiglath-pileser met with Ahaz. The fourth discrepancy is the description of how the Syro-Ephraimite war concluded. II Kings states that Tiglath-pileser's military intervention in Damascus ended the war, while II Chronicles states that Israel and Damascus had inflicted defeats upon Judah and captured many Judeans. However, the prophet Oded's moral case put to the Israelite host later saved those Judean captives taken to Samaria (verses 5–15).

The four discrepancies outlined above have led to a number of scholarly attempts to harmonise or deconstruct the text in order to explain the biblical text's inconsistency. For example Ginsburg, Cogan and Tadmor, Bartlett, Lindsay, Rainey and Notley have dealt with some of the said discrepancies by treating them as textual corruptions. They argue that the statement in II Kings 16:5–6 is not a chronological sequence, thus the "Rezin" of verse 6 was a late textual addition influenced by the mention of this king in verse 5; and that the Masoretic use of 'Aram' (אַרַם) is a corruption of 'Edom' (אֶדוֹם).<sup>8</sup> This thesis rests on the assumption that the scribe confused the *daleth* in Edom with the *rēsh* of Aram. This philological explanation is influenced by the emphasis upon the wars with Edomite and the Philistines mentioned in II Chronicles 28:16–21.<sup>9</sup>

Other scholars have read the difference in the biblical accounts as a reflection of the differing attitudes of the author of Kings and the Chronicler, rather than of the textual errors. They explain the difference between the biblical accounts by discussing the Chronicler's religious and ideological in-

<sup>7</sup> Irvine (1990, pp. 113–131) who considers chapters 7–12 as relevant to the Syro-Ephraimite war gives an overview of the various passages that scholars have contended relate to the Syro-Ephraimite war.

<sup>8</sup> Ginsberg 1950, p. 348; Cogan and Tadmor 1988, pp. 184–187; Tadmor and Cogan 1979, pp. 496–499; Bartlett 1989, p. 127; and Lindsay 1999, pp. 76–79.

<sup>9</sup> Cogan and Tadmor 1988, pp. 186–187; Bartlett 1989, p. 127; Lindsay 1999, p. 59.

terests.<sup>10</sup> That is, the difference between the texts is not necessarily historical *per se*, but that the Chronicler is more critical, or more interested in explicating the sinful aspects, of Ahaz's reign. Thus, the additional information has been included in order to emphasise the severe nature of the divine actions against Ahaz. For Irvine the Chronicler's contradictory statement regarding Tiglath-pileser's aid was a narrative technique used to portray Yahweh's response to Ahaz's sinful ways. The Chronicler adds the Edomite-Philistine conflict to the Syro-Ephraimite war in order to highlight the divine punishment for Ahaz's idolatrous practices and in doing so the Chronicler is able to present the case that Tiglath-pileser did not aid Ahaz.<sup>11</sup> Knoppers argues that the discrepancy in question was one of a number of revisions that the Chronicler made in order to portray those kings who despoiled the royal treasury for foreign tribute as weak and morally deficient.<sup>12</sup> In this case, the Chronicler revised the II Kings account so that Tiglath-pileser did not help Ahaz, but oppressed him. Ackroyd and Kalimi have argued theses that the Chronicler's condemnation of Ahaz and subsequent idealisation of 'good' Judean kings was to create a moral contrast for the reader.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the textual 'revision' or 'antithesis' concerning the Tiglath-pileser episode in II Chronicles was one of the Chronicler's methods of communicating his message.

None of the theories considered above have made an adequate use of the Assyrian sources.<sup>14</sup> Tiglath-pileser's annals 18, 23, 24 and summary inscriptions 4, 7, 9 and 13 recount his involvement in Syria-Palestine during the Syro-Ephraimite war. Annal 23 is the most complete inscription that relates to the Syro-Ephraimite war. It states that Rezin (*Ra-bi-a-ni*) was defeated and fled during a 45-day siege, 591 cities from Damascus' 16 districts were annexed, 800 people with their possessions and large numbers of cattle were taken as booty, and the military and court personnel were killed or deported.<sup>15</sup> Annals 18 and 24 are very fragmentary and offer no extra information.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, the beginning of the inscription is missing. Thus, no reason is given for invading Damascus and Israel. The extant text does not confirm the report in II Kings 16:9 that Rezin was executed after, or during,

<sup>10</sup> For example, Irvine 1990, pp. 90–95; Knoppers 1999, pp. 200–201; and Ackroyd 1991, pp. 116–120.

<sup>11</sup> Irvine 1990, pp. 91–93.

<sup>12</sup> Knoppers 1999, pp. 200–201.

<sup>13</sup> Ackroyd 1991, pp. 116–120; Kalimi 2005, pp. 332–334.

<sup>14</sup> The exception is Rainey and Notley 2006, who will be discussed below.

<sup>15</sup> Tadmor 1994, pp. 78–79.

<sup>16</sup> Tadmor 1994, pp. 82–83.

this battle.<sup>17</sup> However, according to Smith, Rawlinson discovered a fragment that reported the death of Rezin, but remained in Iraq and was subsequently lost.<sup>18</sup> Summary inscriptions 4, 9, and 13 indicate that Pekah was killed in the battle and was replaced by Hoshea in the course of this campaign.<sup>19</sup> Tyre appears to have lost its mainland territories and reduced to the island of Tyre, proper.<sup>20</sup> Finally, summary inscription 7 states that Tiglath-pileser received tribute from Ahaz (<sup>m</sup>*Ia-u-ḥa-zi* <sup>kur</sup>*Ia-u-da-a-a*).

The Assyrian sources discussed above support the II Kings 16:5–9 account that Tiglath-pileser took military action against the Syro-Ephraimite alliance and that the result of the conflict was the defeat of Damascus and that large portions of the northern kingdom and Tyre were annexed and turned into Assyrian provinces. However, the Assyrian sources do not specify how Ahaz became an Assyrian vassal. There is no mention of his appeal to Tiglath-pileser and the only reference to any payment is his presence in the tribute list of summary inscription 7. The Assyrian sources are also silent on the reason for going to war against Damascus and Israel. However, the Assyrian sources do shed light on the Edomite and Philistine conflicts related in II Chronicles 28:16–21. Summary inscription 8:22–23 reports that Tiglath-pileser's campaign in 734 to Gaza and the Brook of Egypt (*Nahal MuSri*) saw the defection of Siratti, the Mehunite from Judah to Assyria.<sup>21</sup> Edom, Ammon, Moab, Ekron and the territory of the Arab tribes of Queen Samsi from Mt Saqurri were also recorded as Assyrian vassals for the first time since the reign of Adad-nirari III.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the picture presented in the Assyrian inscriptions is of Judah being isolated from the regions that it had controlled during the reign of Uzziah.<sup>23</sup> It is proposed here that it is these changes in the political geography of the southern Levant that concerned the Chronicler.

The biblical text presents an accurate picture of Assyrian imperialism under Tiglath-pileser. During the reign of Tiglath-pileser, Assyria exercised her control over the other nations of the Near East with a system of varying degrees of domination, depending on the subordinate nation's obedience. If,

<sup>17</sup> The Hebrew reads: הִמִּית אֶת-רִצְיִן 'he put Rezin to death.'

<sup>18</sup> Smith 1869, p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Tadmor 1994, pp. 138–139, 188–189, 202–203. Cf. II Kings 15:30.

<sup>20</sup> Oded 1974, p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> Tadmor 1994, pp. 178–179. II Chronicles 26:7 states that Judah subjugated the Mehunites.

<sup>22</sup> Summary Inscriptions 4, 8, 9, and 13 in Tadmor 1994, pp. 138–143, 178–179, 188–189, 202–203. See also Na'aman 1979, pp. 70, 74–80; Millard 1992, p. 36; and Rainey 2000, p. 176. For the Calah Slab of Adad-nirari III see A.o.104.8 in Grayson 1996, pp. 212–213.

<sup>23</sup> See also Tadmor 1961, pp. 238–239.

at the outset, a city submitted to Assyria, the local ruler would retain their throne, accept the Assyrian king as their overlord, and become a vassal. An example of this situation is Sirratti, the Mehunite who submitted in 734.<sup>24</sup> If the local ruler fought or defied the Assyrian king once vassaldom was accepted, they would be replaced by a puppet ruler and suffer the burden of heavier annual tribute and more restricting treaty or oath conditions. The replacement of Pekah with Hoshea is an example of this. Often acts of rebellion would then draw the punishment of a territory being annexed and transformed into an Assyrian province. This meant a total loss of autonomy, as Assyrian governors replaced the local leaders, a high chance of deportation occurring and loss of control over the local economy. An example of this is the provincialisation of Damascus after the Syro-Ephraimite war.

There was also a geographic pattern to Tiglath-pileser's system. The areas adjacent to the Assyrian heartland became provinces: Ulluba, Unqi, Na'iri and North Syria, Damascus and most of Israel. South of these areas remained vassals, or puppet states: Judah, Ekron, Moab, Edom, Ammon, Gaza and the Brook of Egypt<sup>25</sup> and in the north, the areas north of Ulluba and the upper Euphrates. This pattern has been read as a deliberate Assyrian policy to create a buffer zone between Assyria's provinces and Urartu in the north<sup>26</sup> and Egypt in the south.<sup>27</sup> Within the buffer zones, Assyria conducted a 'network' style of expansion in regions where political control had not yet been exerted.<sup>28</sup> This was a method of expansion without changing local borders, but by securing Assyrian forts or commercial centres in regions that were still politically independent.<sup>29</sup> In the case of Tiglath-pileser's movements in the west, the campaign of 734 (just prior to the Assyrian intervention in the Syro-Ephraimite war) that saw the establishment of an Assyrian emporium (*bīt kāri*) in Gaza and of a garrison<sup>30</sup> at the brook of Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the Chronicler's report that Tiglath-pileser did not militarily intervene in the Trans-Jordanian region corresponds with our picture of Tiglath-pileser's imperial policy in Palestine.

<sup>24</sup> Summary Inscription 8, in Tadmor 1994, pp. 176–177.

<sup>25</sup> ND 2765 states that these regions sent tribute to Calah, while ND 2773 indicates that Moab was under Assyrian control, see Saggs 1955, pp. 131–135, 152–153.

<sup>26</sup> Parker 2001, pp. 251–252.

<sup>27</sup> Otzen 1979, pp. 255–257.

<sup>28</sup> Liverani 1988.

<sup>29</sup> Liverani 1988, p. 90.

<sup>30</sup> The Akkadian is *atû* – 'doorkeeper' or 'gatekeeper', CAD: 1/2 (A), p. 517.

<sup>31</sup> Summary inscriptions 4, 8, 9 and 13 in Tadmor 1994, pp. 138–141, 176–179, 188–189, 202–203.



While the above outline of the Assyrian sources support both the author of King's and the Chronicler's account of the political strife Judah faced from its neighbours, what are we to make of the contradictory statements regarding Tiglath-pileser's aid to Ahaz? The complete contradiction is striking and poses problems for an interpretation of the Assyrian involvement in Judah during this period. Nevertheless, if one changes their methodological approach to the biblical text and moves away from the theological-ideological analysis of the texts and focuses on the historical information provided by each of the biblical passages, then a possible explanation of the discrepancy is attainable. Rainey and Notley's study, despite attempting to emend the King's account,<sup>32</sup> is rare in its attempt to find an historical solution to the question at hand. They suggest that the two biblical accounts refer to different Assyrian campaigns. The negative account in Chronicles refers to Tiglath-pileser's campaign in 734, while the more positive refers to the Syrian campaign of 732.<sup>33</sup> This interpretation provides an historical context for the different biblical account which is in accord with the Eponym Chronicle and the Assyrian inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> It does not, however, provide a direct answer as to how such an apparent discrepancy in the biblical accounts is to be understood.

Returning to the way we understand the relationship of Kings and Chronicles. There is the argument that the Chronicler, when composing his work, had the books of Samuel and Kings in mind and proceeded to expand on certain events and personalities.<sup>35</sup> Weeks uses the reign of Asa as an example and notes that while I Kings 15:9–24 is a positive account of the reign, II Chronicles 14–16 offers a mixed view. II Chronicles 16:7–10 is critical of the alliance with Syria, and in 16:12 there is the criticism of Asa's employment of physicians to cure his illness rather than place his faith in Yahweh.<sup>36</sup> On the basis of such discrepancies, Weeks argues that the Chronicler arranged his material assuming that the reader had knowledge of Kings and thus was at liberty to present more material on a particular event. Thus, what first appear to be contradictions within the biblical text can in fact be read as the Chronicler's supplementary information.<sup>37</sup> Rainey has argued that much of the extra information found in Chronicles comes

<sup>32</sup> Rainey and Notley 2006, p. 228.

<sup>33</sup> Rainey and Notley 2006, pp. 229–232.

<sup>34</sup> See the table in Tadmor 1994, pp. 234–235.

<sup>35</sup> Weeks 2005. It is my understanding that Weeks will offer a much more detailed discussion of the thesis in his forthcoming work on source criticism, "Authors and Sources". The argument does appear in a work of a more general nature, Weeks 1988, pp. 56–62, and thus I will make reference to the published version of the argument.

<sup>36</sup> Weeks 1988, p. 57.

<sup>37</sup> Weeks 1988, pp. 57–62.

from the 'Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel.'<sup>38</sup> In the case of Ahaz and the Syro-Ephraimite war, Rainey argues that the extra information such as the Edomite and Philistine attack, was drawn from the 'Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.'<sup>39</sup> If one follows this view of Chronicles as a work composed to relate the history of Judah with additional information to an audience post-Samuel-Kings, then one can view the Chronicler's statement that Tiglath-pileser did not help Judah is as historically significant as it is religiously or ideologically.

It is proposed here that the dichotomy in the biblical text's accounts of the aid of Tiglath-pileser is historically specific. That is, that the author of Kings was concerned with only Syria in his work on Ahaz's foreign relations, while the Chronicler sought to present a fuller picture of the foreign situation and related both Syro-Ephraimite attack and that of the Edomites and Philistines.<sup>40</sup> The chapters and verses preceding the biblical accounts of the Syro-Ephraimite crisis further illustrate this point. II Kings 15–16 deals exclusively with the problems the Judean kingdom had with Syria, while in II Chronicles 26–28 attention is paid to Judah's eastern and southern neighbours. Hence in II Kings 15:1–7 we learn nothing of the details of Azariah's/Uzziah's reign and the following verses of chapter 15 are concerned with the internal instability of the northern kingdom, its reduction at the hands of Tiglath-pileser III, Menahem's submission to Assyria, and the beginning of the Syro-Ephraimite alliance. In chapter 16 we learn of Ahaz's struggle against the Syro-Ephraimite alliance, his request for Tiglath-pileser's aid, and Ahaz's subsequent building of the Damascene styled altar and his idolatrous worship.<sup>41</sup> Yet, in II Chronicles 26–28 we are offered significantly different information. Chapter 26 gives a detailed account of Uzziah's military action against the Philistines, the Arabs, and the Mehunites (Akkadian: <sup>kur</sup>*Mu-'u-na-a-a*); and the submission of the Ammonites. Chapter 27 similarly describes Jotham's defeat of the Ammonites, which is absent from II Kings 15:32–38. The above comparisons of II Kings and II Chronicles highlight the difference in historical emphases between the authors of Kings and Chronicles. The author of Kings is more interested in the fall of the northern kingdom and the activity of Syria, while the Chronicler offers additional information on the activity of Judah and her neighbours.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Rainey 1997, pp. 30–72.

<sup>39</sup> Rainey 1997, pp. 65–66.

<sup>40</sup> Myers (1965, p. 163) very briefly raised this idea, but did not discuss it in any detail.

<sup>41</sup> On the nature of Ahaz's altar, see McKay 1973, pp. 6–9; Cogan 1974, pp. 73–77; and Cogan 1993.

<sup>42</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the Judeo-Edomite relations prior to Ahaz's reign, see Bartlett 1989, pp. 122–127; and Lindsay 1999, pp. 49–54.

We can now offer a reading of the problematic biblical accounts that explains the discrepancy without amending the text. Both II Kings and II Chronicles can be viewed as historically accurate, and each in its way accords to the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. We can now say that during his reign, Ahaz felt considerable pressure from the attacks in the north by the Syro-Ephraimite coalition and from the south and the east by the Edomites and Philistines. This led to Ahaz calling on Assyria for help. Tiglath-pileser III responded by crushing the Syro-Ephraimite crisis and by establishing the trans-Jordanian vassals. The account of Ahaz's reign given by the author of Kings discussed only the Syrian problem, and consequently viewed Tiglath-pileser's aid as a significant force in Ahaz's defense of Judah. The Chronicler, however, in focusing on Judah's southern neighbours, viewed Tiglath-pileser's movements in Syria-Palestine as unsatisfactory, perhaps even irrelevant to the problems Judah faced from its southern and eastern neighbours, and thus the 'aid' did not return the Edomites and Philistines to Judean control, but turned them into Assyrian vassals.

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# Representations of Archers in the Relief of Tiglath-Pileser III: Combined Front-and-Back Views and Artistic Conventions

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## Abstract

*Modern scholarship has tended to focus on the concepts of ideology and propaganda in Assyrian palace reliefs. This paper wrestles with the presence of artistic conventions and their level of stability throughout the Neo-Assyrian period. My aim is to draw attention to specific examples of accepted principles that were followed in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II and measure their stability throughout the centuries, with particular emphasis on reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III. To do so, I have selected a relief from the Central Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III, which illustrates an Assyrian officer preparing to shoot an arrow in a leftward direction. It is concluded that the violation of illusionistic perspective in this relief can be explained by accepting the presence of Assyrian artistic conventions.*

## Introduction

The aim of this article is to highlight Assyrian artistic principles and the methods of artists used to provide clear representations of archers for the viewer. Firstly, I will briefly outline the scope of modern scholarship relating to Assyrian artwork. Following this I will note the peculiarities that emerge in the palace of Tiglath-Pileser III with the depiction of archers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reference to 'peculiarities' in this paper is used to denote the specific elements of the relief that are not illusionistically real but irregular representations to the author.

I attempt to identify these peculiarities as strict conventions that were developed and sometimes revolutionised by artists during a particular king's reign. For this task I have selected BM 118903 from the Central Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III at Nimrud (**Fig. 1**). I have used this relief because it seems to be a standardised representation of an archer of the period preparing to shoot an arrow in a leftward direction.<sup>2</sup>

## Background to Studies of Assyrian Art

A great deal of modern scholarship has focused on the political patronage and state ideology of the Neo-Assyrian bas-reliefs.<sup>3</sup> In recent years Bahrani has extended these interpretations to incorporate historiographic issues and a concept of mimesis.<sup>4</sup> Studies by Yadin and Madhloom, to name only two, have endeavoured to illustrate the variety of machines and weapons of war and their developments throughout the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>5</sup> These topics are invaluable to the study of Assyrian art, however this article will focus on the artistic conventions that were adopted by the Assyrian artists during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.

## The Left Facing Archer

**Figure 1** is a bas-relief of an Assyrian archer and a shield-bearer from the Central Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III. We can assume from the relief that the Assyrian archer is right handed and that we are therefore looking at his back. This assumption is based on the hand positions of the archer in this relief.<sup>6</sup> The front hand can be none other than his left hand based on the presence of his knuckles; if it were his right hand we would see his fingers. Similarly, the rear hand must be the right hand as we are shown the inside

<sup>2</sup> Other examples of the same stance of an archer facing a leftward direction include Plates 10, 12, 34, 52, 55, 73 and 76 in Barnett and Falkner 1962.

<sup>3</sup> This thesis was first presented in Olmstead 1918, pp. 209–263. This concept was followed by a conglomeration of other scholars. The most recent influential scholarship on state ideology in Assyrian art include, but are certainly not limited to Reade 1979; Winter 1981, 1983, 1997; Marcus 1995; Russell 1998; Porter 2000; Lumsden 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Bahrani 2003. For discussion of the aims of the study and a definition of mimesis see pp. 1–8.

<sup>5</sup> Yadin 1963; Madhloom 1970.

<sup>6</sup> Note that Falkner has suggested that it is the Assyrian archer's left hand that draws the bow, which would lead to the conclusion that he was a left handed archer; see Barnett and Falkner 1962, p. 33. However, the critical eye will notice that the rear hand can be none other than his right hand.



of the archer's fingers and palm. Therefore, it would seem that this image depicts a right handed archer. My own experience with archery allows me to comment on the stance of a right handed bowman. The archer's left hand or bow arm is used to steady the bow, while the right hand or shaft arm draws the bow. According to Smith, this is the case because a right handed person will use his/her right hand for delicate or manipulative movements such as drawing a bow; while the left hand is used for more passive activities like holding the bow steady.<sup>7</sup> The left foot should be placed at the front so as to not disturb the anchor-point and to allow the bowstring to be drawn fluently to its full extent.<sup>8</sup> If the right leg was placed forward the human body would restrict the drawback action and inhibit the anchor-point.<sup>9</sup> However, the critical eye will notice that the Assyrian archer in **Figure 1** is represented in an anomalous stance to illusionistic perspective. The five issues that will be addressed in this paper include:

1. The appearance of the Assyrian archer's beard, right hand and spare arrows on what appears to be his back;
2. The portion of the arrow shaft being drawn in the bow is hidden behind the archer's beard and yet, the back of the arrow is depicted when it should be at the archer's front and covered by his body;
3. The position in which the quiver is being worn;
4. The feet positioning of the archer is opposite to what we would expect, that is, his right leg is forward instead of the left;
5. The bowstring appears to be drawn behind the head of the archer with the top half being drawn at the upper-side of the archer's body, while the bottom half is drawn at the underside of the archer. Hence, when the bowstring is released it seems that the Assyrian archer will be decapitated.<sup>10</sup>

The first three issues can be dealt with together as they can be explained by an Assyrian artistic convention. Imagine that the Assyrian artists had illustrated what they could actually see and how different it would look compared to the relief's true form. We would be able to identify the Assyrian archer's left hand out in front, his beard would be hidden behind his

<sup>7</sup> Smith 1978, pp. 51–52.

<sup>8</sup> An anchor-point is described in Heath 1978, p. 204 as “a fixed point to which the archer brings his shaft arm to full draw”. If the anchor-point is disturbed, the drawback will not be as great and will therefore affect a decrease in the force that the arrow will be projected at.

<sup>9</sup> This would be the case as the archer would be drawing the bowstring towards his body which would prevent the bow being drawn to its complete capacity.

<sup>10</sup> This was identified by Collon 2004, p. 467.

left shoulder and the arrows in the quiver, which should be worn on his back, would cover his right hand that is drawing the bow. To prevent an inhibited perspective of the archers for viewers, the Assyrian artists adopted a convention that would show the front of a left facing archer, or indeed any representation of a figure, instead of the back as would be expected in this representation.

This is supported by the fact the quiver is shown behind the archer's body, and ultimately on his back. Similarly, the archer's beard, a sign of virility, and the spare arrows being held are reconciled if we are looking at the front of the figure. Also the archer's drawing arm is illustrated in a position that is reverse to the true visual perception. That is, if we were looking at the archer's back, the drawing hand or right arm should have been represented with the bicep muscle protruding over the forearm. Instead, the artists have represented the right arm from a frontal position with the forearm tensed and covering the bicep. The final result is a combined front-and-back view that is very common in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs. It should be noted that this convention was not confined to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III but had its origins in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II (BM 124534) and continued to exist even in the palace reliefs of Ashurbanipal (BM 124867).<sup>11</sup>

Similarly the representations of the archer's feet in an opposite position to that which is adopted by a right handed bowman needs to be reconciled. As already discussed, a right handed archer should have his left leg forward to permit a long and unrestricted drawing of the bowstring. Instead, in **Figure 1** the archer is represented with his right leg forward. As discussed above, this is not a practical manoeuvre as it would inhibit the archer's anchor-point and thus, adversely affect the power that the arrow could be projected at. Moreover, the position would be completely unnatural and uncomfortable and would, ultimately, inhibit the accuracy of the projectile.<sup>12</sup> This violation of illusionistic perspective must be explained by the presence of an artistic convention.

**Figure 2**, also from the palace of Tiglath-Pileser III, illustrates the king receiving one of his helmeted and armed officers.<sup>13</sup> I draw attention to the feet placement of the five upright figures in the relief. Notice that the king

<sup>11</sup> In the latter case, Ashurbanipal's decoration and necklace are of the style we would expect on his front; however it his back that is shown to us. This may have been a strategy aimed at preventing any misconception of the importance and status of the king, while allowing the artwork to be more decorative and complex.

<sup>12</sup> See Heath 1978, pp. 123–133.

<sup>13</sup> This relief has been used as it illustrates my argument most clearly, although a multitude of other reliefs could have been used to the same effect.

and his attendant behind him both have their left legs forward and their right legs back. Alternatively, the three men facing the king have their right legs forward and their left legs back. While the opposite figures have a different foot at the front, there is a pattern emerging in this representation. The front leg always shows the inner side of the foot from the big toe to the heel, while the back foot will illustrate the perspective of the outer part of the foot showing the toe size progression from the largest toe to the smallest. I maintain that this is an extension of the frontal convention already discussed. That is, to depict the front of the king and his attendant the left leg must naturally be forward. If the right leg was forward the viewer would observe the king's back. Similarly the officials facing the king have their right legs forward so that their fronts are illustrated in the relief. Therefore, the reason for the peculiar arrangement of Assyrian archer's feet in Figure 1 can be explained by an artistic convention that standardised the feet position of figures in bas-reliefs. This principle can be traced back to the wall reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II. It has been proposed that this convention may infer an auspiciousness of the right side.<sup>14</sup>

Finally the obscure depiction of the drawn bowstring in Figure 1 must be clarified. It is significant to note that no other Assyrian kings' palace reliefs testify to this type of artistic representation. It is true that an Assyrian king or soldier discharging an arrow in a rightward direct had been depicted with the bottom half of the bowstring crossing the body while the top half disappeared behind the head of the subject since the palace reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II. This was based on a notion that objects could not cross the face of any individual in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs, which was strictly enforced until the reign of Sargon II.<sup>15</sup> However, when an archer was shooting in a leftward direction in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal, the artists had no need for such a convention because the majority of the bowstring could simply be covered by the archer (BM 124534). However, the artists during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III must have felt that it was necessary a development, or else they were free to express their artistic licence. At first glance I wondered

<sup>14</sup> See Winter 1995, p. 2578.

<sup>15</sup> Prior to the reign of Sargon II, the Assyrian palace reliefs testify to a convention that avoided representations of the bowstring cutting across the head of a figure. This was the case for the king, Assyrian soldiers and the enemy alike. However, during the reign of Sargon, the Assyrian artists began to depict bowstrings crossing the heads of Assyrian soldiers and those of the enemy. For evidence see Albenda 1986, Pls. 124 and 136 for Assyrian cases and Pl. 138 for that of the enemy. This continued during the reign of Sennacherib, see Barnett, Bleibtreu and Turner, 1998, Pls. 71, 72, 87, 88, 89, 94, 95, 163, 165, 167, 169, 182, 203, 270, 324 and 350. Under Ashurbanipal it also became permissible for the Assyrian king to be represented with a bowstring crossing his crown and head, see BM 124876 and 124886.

whether this could illustrate a new technique for discharging arrows. Let us forget for a moment our preconceptions of how bows should have been used based on the principles of the English longbow and modern archery skills.<sup>16</sup>

Let us suppose that, instead of using the bow in a completely vertical manner, the Assyrians, under the leadership of Tiglath-Pileser, experimented with a slightly horizontal positioning of the bow. Such a position would explain the representation of part of the bowstring behind the Assyrian archer and the bottom half on the opposite side of the archer. However, the advantages of such a position are not certain in my mind. This position may have permitted a greater number of arrows to be discharged at a given time or could have improved accuracy based on the Assyrian bow type. Perhaps the advantages lay in siege warfare and this style allowed an archer to remain lower behind his protective shield than a completely vertical position would permit. However, this new technique should most likely be explained as an artistic convention rather than a military innovation without further evidence. Tiglath-Pileser's artists were probably experimenting with a new style of bowstring representation. Ashurbanipal's hunting reliefs demonstrate that his artists also experimented by illustrating the bowstring drawn exaggeratedly beyond the head on the archer. I would conclude that this is evidence of artistic licence and demonstrates that Assyrian art was far from static and standardised.

## Conclusion

The focus was placed on Figure 1 as it represents a standard representation of an archer facing in a leftward direction. Perhaps my conclusions concerning the peculiarities of this image have revealed some Assyrian artistic conventions. Firstly, I have explained that the appearance of the archer's beard, right hand and spare arrows on his back, the arrow disappearing behind the beard of the figure and the position of the quiver can be explained by accepting that it is a combined front-and-back representation. A frontal representation of the archer's chest is further supported by the feet placement of the figure. Finally, the unique style of representing the bowstring of a left facing archer has been explained as either an artistic convention. Certainly, it is evident that Assyrian palace reliefs had strict conventions that were complimented with new ideas, some of which were successful and others that survived for a very limited period.

<sup>16</sup> These principles dictate that the bow must remain completely vertical, see Heath 1978, p. 128.

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Fig. 1: From the Central Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III (BM 118903).  
Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



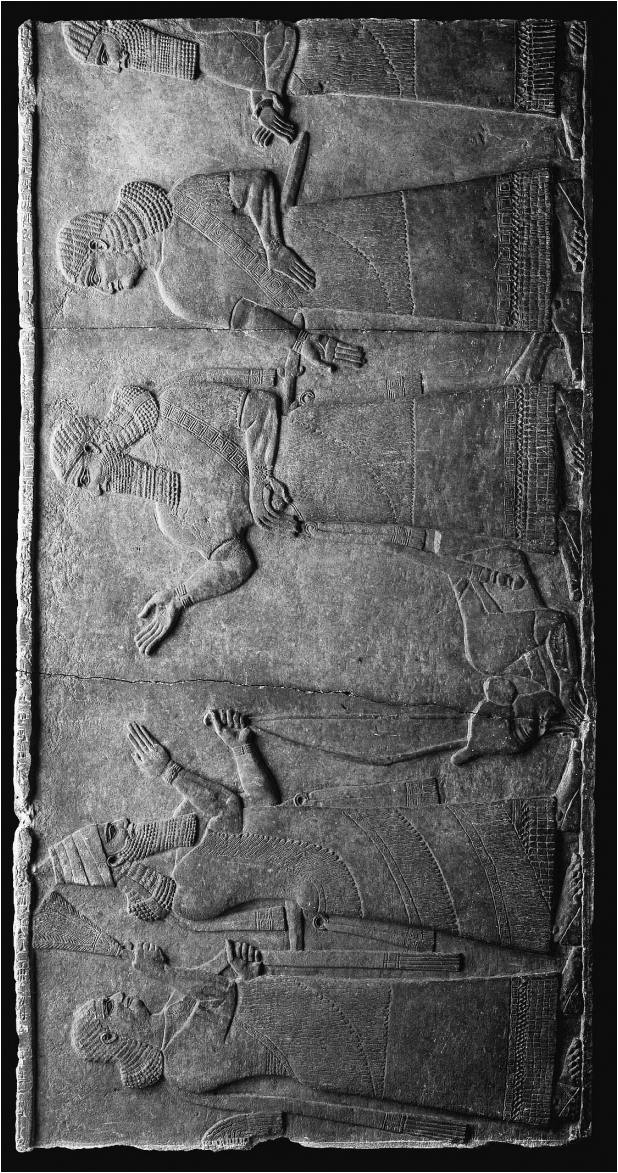


Fig. 2: From the Southwest Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III (Detroit, No. 50.32).  
Courtesy of Detroit Institute of Arts.



# National Archaeologies and Conflicting Identities: Examples from Greece, Cyprus and Turkey

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## Abstract

*This paper explains the effects of archaeology as a nationalistic practice that provides a cogent perspective on the holistic demands of modern historical thought. Archaeology constitutes the national concept of being itself. The absolute national knowledge conceptualised by geography needs continuity, thus archaeology is constructed as a practice of the appropriation of the other. In this context, this paper aims to identify the problematic interpretation of archaeological materials in Greek and Turkish societies. The nationalistic approaches of both societies produce an archaeological discourse into debates around the relations of history to geography, of politics to knowledge.\**

## Introduction

The integrity of historical geography from past to present determines cultural traditions that explain a nation's historical trajectory, its common ancestry and its homeland. This integrity produces a nationalistic paradigm of identity, which is based on the political ideologies concerned with 'the same' and 'the other' with regard to the modern borderlands, the lit-

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eral borderlands of national boundaries as well as to the metaphorical borderlands of national conceptualisation of geography. In these literal and metaphorical borderlands, archaeology has cogently served to illustrate the imagined legacy of a nation through its putative past. Kohl and Fawcett have noted: "there is an almost unavoidable or natural relationship between archaeology and nationalism."<sup>1</sup> The manipulation of archaeology and the loss of its innocence generate symbolic resources and values in pursuit of the public goals of a nation. According to Trigger, "the primary function of nationalistic archaeology, like nationalistic history of which it normally is regarded as an extension, is to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups."<sup>2</sup> 'Archaeology as a nationalistic phenomenon has meant the loss of its 'political innocence' in the post-processual archaeology,<sup>3</sup> just as processual archaeology is equated with the loss of innocence during the 1960s.<sup>4</sup>

There are many examples of how nation-states have used archaeology for their purposes of building national ideologies and legitimising of their political authorities in the modern world.<sup>5</sup> The following discussion concerns the relation between the politics of archaeology in Greece, Cyprus and Turkey, and their national identities as their respective self-definitions in this modern period. These national identities, it is argued, are products of a conflict between these neighbouring states.

Both Greek and Turkish societies built an ideology developed by the dialectic of 'the same' and 'the other'. Their historical narratives were constructed within specific socio-cultural contexts that were generated by the West. Both were identified as Eastern subjects, but as 'European' also, and in the problematic realm of western consciousness they were defined as different cultural areas in the western historiography. On the other hand, with the Enlightenment, ancient Greeks and Romans were identified as the forefathers of the enlightened West against "a parvenue and provincial Western Society's history"<sup>6</sup> of the Middle Ages. The edited 'H'istory of the West, based on the ancient Greeks, deeply influenced modern Greeks, especially the Greek intelligentsia that was in close contact with the West.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, the Turkish intelligentsia of the middle of the nineteenth century began to

<sup>1</sup> Kohl and Fawcett 1995, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Trigger 1984, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Kristiansen 1992, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Clarke 1973.

<sup>5</sup> Abdi 2001; Arnold 1990; Brown 1994; Dietler 1994; Fowler 1987; Friedman 1992; Meskell 1998.

<sup>6</sup> Toynbee 1961, p. 410.

<sup>7</sup> Augustinos 1977; Blinkhorn and Veremis 1990.

adopt western ideas and concepts in the hope that the Ottoman Empire would regain economic and political power. This significant shift to western ideals also resulted in a new historiography created by Turkish elites and based on the legacy of the ancient past.

### **In the Beginning of White Mythologies: What's in a Name?**

The 'imagined societies'<sup>8</sup> of the Greeks and the Turks were predicated upon the view of national superiority, as explained through historical geography and the ancient history of their so-called ancestors, constructs which their respective intelligentsias carefully crafted. These elites, products of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, proposed a new knowledge structured around notions of Nationalism and Modernism. Their nationalistic arguments are clearly delineated in the debate surrounding the modern name of both nations, which sets out their respective culture-historical paradigms.

The debate over of the name of the modern Greek nation created tension between the Greek Orthodox Church, and its framework of Christianity and Byzantine legacy, and the Romantic and the European intelligentsia that felt closer to the idea of Hellenism. As Herzfeld has pointed out, this discursive distinction between two interpretations indicates a war between their pivotal self-designations determined by an outward-directed conformity of western minds' expectations about what Modern Greece was to be, and an inward-looking, self-critical collective appraisal<sup>9</sup>. According to Speros Vryonis, in the Byzantine Empire, "the term Hellene was more widespread than formerly asserted and that the lines between Hellene and Rhomaios had become blurred."<sup>10</sup> Symeon of Thessaloniki and Sphrantzes used the term Roman to identify the Byzantine world. Kritoboulos preferred the term Roman to interpret many Byzantine concepts like people, emperors, officials, empire, armed forces, and nations, whereas he exceptionally used the term Hellene for Byzantine lands, cities and Greek language. In the same context, Dukas employed the term Roman for Byzantine institutional interpretations, and the term Hellene for the ancient Greek, pagan education and geographical regions. He also described contemporary Byzantines as "the dregs of the nation of the Hellenes" in ethnic designation in opposition to Roman Latins. Ioannes Chortasmenos referred to the term Hellene as pagans in his theological tract. However, he also

<sup>8</sup> Anderson 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Herzfeld 1982, 1989.

<sup>10</sup> Vryonis 1991, p. 9.

used the term Hellene to identify Greek language and Byzantine mentality and virtues in his letters.<sup>11</sup>

In the *Religious Encyclopedia* prepared by the Greek Orthodox Church, and published in 1964, Hellene was synonymous with the 'idolater.' Accordingly, the political term used by the church was Romaioi in the reference to the Byzantine period. On the other hand, when referring to lineage and culture, the church favours the term Graikoi.<sup>12</sup> Although the Greek Orthodox Church preferred the Roman and Greek names for self-identification it did not accept being associated with the "ancient" because ancient refers to Hellene which, in turn, means idolater. This recalls Triantaphyllides, a famous Greek linguist, who said "the term Hellene was used for lowness (*pammiaros*) by the Christian writers."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the Greek Orthodox Church set itself against *archaiolatρεία* meaning the act of idolising the ancient world.

Ottoman rule in Greece played an important role in the shaping of an ideological framework by the modern Greek intelligentsia defining itself as western and modernist. According to Stavrianos, the cultural cleavage among the Balkan peoples who were aligned with the Orthodox Church and Western Europeans deepened with the split of the Christian church in the eleventh century and later the Turkish conquests in the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, "during the almost five centuries of Turkish rule the Balkan peoples had no history. Time stood still for them. Consequently when they won their independence in the nineteenth century their point of reference was to the pre-Turkish period — to the medieval ages or beyond."<sup>15</sup> As a result of this cultural intrusion, secular Greeks looked back with pride to the Classical age and the conservatives to the great Byzantine Empire. Both agreed, however, that the Turks must be erased in the construction of their historical narrative. Accordingly, the historical narrative of modern Greeks was showcased in the Classical Period and its collaterality with Modern Europe.<sup>16</sup> Modern Greeks were imbued by the idealisation of the ancient Greeks during the Enlightenment. According to the Modernist and Romantic Greek intelligentsia, the Byzantine and Ottoman eras were the eras of foreign occupations for the Greek nation.<sup>17</sup> It is within this con-

<sup>11</sup> Vrynois 1991, pp. 7–8.

<sup>12</sup> Threskeutike 1964, pp. 121–122.

<sup>13</sup> Triantaphyllides 1938, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Stavrianos 1965, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Stavrianos 1965, p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Friedman 1992, p. 840.

<sup>17</sup> Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, pp. 121–122.

text that the modern Greek intelligentsia began to discuss the name of the nation — what should it be, Graikoi, Romaioi or Hellen? Koreas and Boulgares<sup>18</sup> defined the nation as Grekos because the Westerns called them Greeks, whereas, Regas<sup>19</sup> suggested Hellen and Rhomaïos. Finally, the term Hellene was accepted as the most appropriate name of the modern Greek nation because the name was a constant reminder of the glorious empire of Alexander the Great. Thus, the designation 'Hellene' revamped the past and, at the same time, removed the Romans and the Turks, and justified the new national and modernist paradigm.

The Turkish intelligentsia who were in close contact with the West and western ideas in the nineteenth century first called the modern Turkish nation 'Turk'. Before this identification, from the Seljuks to the Ottomans, the word Turk was used with the adjective *Etrak-i bi idrak* (unintelligent) by the élites in the Ottoman world, and also signified nomadic, ignorant and uncivilised. The Crusaders first identified Anatolians, who spoke Turkish, as Turks. However, Turchia or Turkia, as a name for Anatolia, was used firstly in Ansbert Diary.<sup>20</sup> Before the Crusaders, Turkia was synonymous with the Hungarian Kingdom in the Holy Crown given to *István* (Stephen, who was declared a saint in 1083), the first Christian king of Hungary in the year 1000 A.D. by Pope Sylvester II. On the lower part of the crown, one of the enamel plates indicates the bust of a king with the legend in Greek, 'Géza, Loyal King of Turkia.'<sup>21</sup>

Turk as the name of the nation was first suggested during the Ottoman Empire in 1874.<sup>22</sup> The transformation of the word Turk from a negative to a positive meaning in the Ottoman mind needed an ancient history to support historical geography that the modern Turks wanted to create. In this context, Mustafa Celalettin Pasha, who migrated from Poland to Turkey, delineated the parameters of the national and the modernist paradigm both historiographically and socially. He argued in his book *Les Turcs: anciens et modernes*, published in 1869, that the precursors of the western civilization had the same racial origin as the Turks. Following this paradigm, Ziya Gökalp, the founder of Turkish nationalism, expressed that the Sumerians and Hittites were Turks.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Demaras 1975, p. 349; Millas 1994, p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> Demaras 1975, p. 349; Millas 1994, p. 53.

<sup>20</sup> Güvenç 1993, p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Kovács and Lovag 1988.

<sup>22</sup> Berkes 1975, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Heyd 1979, pp. 132–133.

After the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey was founded with an ideological program based on nationalism and secularism in 1923. The Republic first accepted the word *Türk* as the name of the nation officially. The deep transformation of the Republic ranging from the clothing habits to women's rights needed a new and modern historical past, one that drew on the integrity of the pre-Islamic period and ignored the Ottomans. Therefore, the so-called Hittite and Sumerian pasts of the *Türks* were re-formulated ethno-historically by the ideologists of the Republic. This interpretation, problematical though it was, provided a historical continuity between the modern Turkish population and Anatolia as the homeland. At the same time, this identification initiated the secularization program in history, structured around the historical notions of national identity. On the other hand, this ethno-historical theory also involved Darwinism in its ideological set-up. Therefore, a process was initiated that manipulated ancient tribal traditions to construct the modern Turkish national identity and, at the same time, satisfy growing secularism in Turkey.

Moreover, the Hungarian nationalistic program called Turanism contributed to the Turkish national paradigm through its theoretical discussion about ancient ethnogenesis. The interaction between the Turkish and Turanist scholars in Hungary provided reference points for the Turkish ideologists in the early Republican era. In this context, the meaning of Sumerians, Hittites and Thracians were transformed in practice to accommodate the modern Turkish identity<sup>24</sup>. In this interaction, Germans and Austrian scholars played an important and influential role in the creation of the history of the ancient *Türks*. The German and Austrian excavations and researches in Siberia and Eastern Europe proposed a hypothesis concerning substantial interactions between the ancient Germanic and Turkic tribes. The Germans wrote the ancient Turkish history on the basis of ethnocentric perspectives through the migration thesis<sup>25</sup> and the *Türks* accepted these proposals.<sup>26</sup> In this context, the Turkish intelligentsia formulated a national historical paradigm connected with Eurasia and prehistoric Anatolia. Consequently, the essence of the Hittites as the ancestors of the *Türks* allowed them to live willingly on the land of their ancestors because the Hittites were considered older than the ancient Greeks and Romans in Anatolia.

<sup>24</sup> Menghin 1928a; Laszlo 1974; Demirkan 2000.

<sup>25</sup> Cohn-Wiener 1930; Koppers 1936; Menghin 1928b; 1928b; 1931; Nehring 1936; Edlinger 1922.

<sup>26</sup> Afet 1939; Mansel 1937a; 1937b; 1938; TTAH 1931.

## National Archaeologies

Modernist intelligentsia invented the nation, as an historical innovation with its symbolic past. The national perception has consolidated itself as a narcissistic self-image has been constructed in the boundaries of knowledge drawn by inventing chronology from ancient to present. Thus, knowledge has been constituted through inventing tradition. Inventing tradition is “essentially a process of formalization and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past.”<sup>27</sup> Archaeology, therefore, becomes a certain self-identification practice for national operations in historical construction.

Archaeology in Greece was inextricably involved in a nationalistic phenomenon because modern political ideology in Greece was founded on iconic images drawn from archaeological material. Modern Greek History means largely idiosyncratic phenomenon through the ancient Hellenic civilization. In this context, archaeology in Greece can be identified as a nationalistic practice and each Hellenic site has become a monument possessing great symbolic value for the Greeks. Therefore, the entire archaeology of the ancient Greeks has bolstered the pride of the modern Greeks. Some archaeological activities explicitly point out the conflict with Turks in the nationalistic historical paradigm.

After World War I Greece occupied Western Anatolia because of the negotiations at the Peace Conference in 1919. Throughout the three-year period that Greece occupied the region, archaeology assumed a significant role in the nationalistic program of the Athens government with regard to the occupation. The Greek archaeological activities in Western Anatolia were carried out by Yioryios Oikonomos and Konstantinos Kourouniotis, both with famous and distinguished careers in Greek archaeology. The nature of archaeology itself in its Greekness is crucial in order to understand its role in the Greek political catch phrase ‘The freedom of Ionia.’ According to Kourouniotis, the Greek Administration in Asia Minor established the archaeological service for the protection and preservation of Greek monuments and for studying the ancient Greek cities of Asia.<sup>28</sup> The ethnocentric attitude of Greek archaeological service manifested itself in the intentional exaggeration of the Greekness of Western Anatolia.

The Greek Evangelical School at Izmir, founded in 1743, supported the archaeological studies in Western Anatolia. They played an important role in glorifying the national past of the Greeks in Anatolia, and in constructing a Greek seniority discourse that revolved around the slogan “the Greeks

<sup>27</sup> Hobsbawm 1993, p. 4.

are older than the Turks in Anatolia.” The school was the centre of the Greek intelligentsia in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands. Adamantios Koreas, for example, one of the founders of Greek nationalism, graduated from this school. The school had an archaeological museum called the Asia Minor Museum, a good library for archaeology, and published an academic journal on archaeology in Western Anatolia.<sup>29</sup> The museum focused on the collection of inscriptions from Anatolia that were particularly meaningful and useful in the writing of a national Greek history.<sup>30</sup> The socio-historical and political roles of the Museum were the creation or reconstruction of the ‘cultural identity’ of Anatolian Greeks, and thus its task had been to collect, interpret, and display the ‘cultural heritage’ of them in the service of the nationalist program of Athens.

The Archaeological Society of Athens launched the excavations at Klazomenai, Ephesos and Nysa with moral and financial assistance from the Archaeological Service of Asia Minor; Stergiades’ civilian administration; the Greek army; and his Royal Highness, Prince Nikolaos of Greece.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the Greek archaeological expeditions legitimised the occupation. The nationalistic perspective based on the ‘Early Greek Period’ explicitly shaped the research designs and interpretations of Greek excavations in Western Anatolia. Therefore, the ethnic interpretation of the Greeks became a conflicting paradigm against the Turks and played a significant role in legitimising the occupation.

Meanwhile, the archaeological activities in the Athenian acropolis were also utilised in the creation of modern Greek political and cultural ideals. The Athenian acropolis reflects the historical background and cultural pattern that the modern Greeks needed. The strategy of archaeological studies in the acropolis has been determined by a formal cultural and political discourse. During the Ottoman period, there was a Turkish village in the acropolis. The Ottoman mosque, Turkish buildings and the ruins of Byzantine churches and chapels on the acropolis were systematically removed. Thus, this cleaning activity symbolically and literally meant the erasure of the Roman and Ottoman past in the modern Greek mind. Likewise prehistoric levels of the acropolis, especially the Bronze Age citadel, were not well studied. The archaeological studies in the Athenian acropolis focused on four splendid buildings of the age of Pericles and Pheidias. According to McNeal, the *disiecta membra* of the Periclean Age have been magically

<sup>28</sup> Kourouniotis 1921–22, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Lithoxou-Salata 1959.

<sup>30</sup> Rayet 1877, pp. 105–106.

<sup>31</sup> Davis 2000, p. 86.



transported to the twentieth century<sup>32</sup>. In this context, the re-construction of the Athenian acropolis dated to the Periclean age is forged into the re-construction of modern Greek historiography. According to Hamilakis and Yalouri, "The Acropolis, a monument 2400 years old, provided a sense of continuity, permanence, historicity and authenticity; above all, it was the most striking example of classical Athens and its achievements in democracy, philosophy, sciences and arts" — a demonstration of continuity especially important in the period of establishing the emerging Greek nation state under Othonian-Bavarian rule.<sup>33</sup> This symbolic meaning of the acropolis continues to influence the ideological and critical self-consciousness of the contemporary Greek society. The hegemonic vision of the acropolis is favoured by the logocentric view replicated by the visual means of representing space.<sup>34</sup>

In Turkey, the archaeological studies during the early Republican period focused on the Pre-Classical sites especially those in central Anatolia. Therefore, these research designs provided an ideological core based on the so-called Turkish past in early Anatolian History<sup>35</sup>. Because of this paradigm, the focal point of the Hittite Era proposed an historicism with its problematic conceptualization against Greeks. Ankara, as a new capital in central Anatolia, played an important and symbolic role in developing a program structured around the ideals of the Kemalist political and cultural movement. As a result of this push, the number of the archaeological excavations in Turkey, dated to the early Republic era and conducted by Turkish archaeologists was fourteen; nine prehistoric sites in central Anatolia, one prehistoric site in Thrace, one prehistoric site in the Black Sea region, one multi-period site in the Antioch region, one prehistoric site in North-East Anatolia, and one Roman site, Perge, in Pamphylia.<sup>36</sup> This selection strategy and the delineation of the study area in the Archaeological Praxis of the early Republic is very meaningful indeed because the point of gravity of the socio-political system and its decision making processes transferred from Istanbul to Ankara. Therefore, the new national social consciousness created by the ideologists of the early Republic era was Anatolian and it proposed a basic historical structure of self-realization that acted as a foil against the Greeks. In this context, the 'Archaeology in the service of the Kemalist political and cultural movement chose to study prehistoric sites in

<sup>32</sup> McNeal 1991, p. 50.

<sup>33</sup> Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, p. 123.

<sup>34</sup> Foucault 1980, pp. 146–165 and 1996, pp. 335–347.

<sup>35</sup> Shaw 2004, p. 133.

<sup>36</sup> Özdemir 2003, pp. 17–18.

order to create an Anatolian Turkish past from prehistory to modern times. At this point, Alacahöyük, a Hittite center in central Anatolia, excavated by Remzi Oğuz Arık, who was the first Turkish archaeologist of the early Republic era, became a symbolic monument for the ideological propaganda of the State.

Mechanisms of the Republic, related with the Hittites in the national historical narrative, became a possible and rational object of knowledge in the new modern Turkish mind. In this paradigm, the Hittites were considered to have arrived from central Asia and were thus related to Turks. This so-called historical reality was realised through the conception of nationalistic possibility as continuity in the geography causing the Hittite past to become a coherent object in the modern Turkish historical narrative. The Republican theory of ancient Anatolian history produced a totality and continuity of common heritage termed 'Anatolianism.' Anatolianism was identified as a historiographical and cultural paradigm claiming that all peoples who have lived in Anatolia added and enriched the culture of the land, and promoted the view of an amalgam of cultures. Even though Anatolianism was produced in the nationalistic interpretation and narrative, paradoxically, the theory located itself as such in order to distance itself from the Pan-Islamic discourse on the one hand, and the discourse of Pan-Turkism on the other.<sup>37</sup> Anatolianism was defined as the enemy of Turkism by the post-war Turkish nationalist movement in the nervous atmosphere that surrounded anti-communist reactions of the McCarthyite variety in Turkey. Anatolianistic theory shifted from the problematic interpretation of national narrative to the Anatolian-centered paradigm against the Hellenic-centred discourse.

After World War II, in the Archaeological Praxis, new Anatolianism could be felt strongly in Ekrem Akurgal's famous and influential book entitled *Orient und Occident*<sup>38</sup>. In this book, Akurgal suggests that the roots of ancient Greek civilisation were based on the strong cultural structures in the Near East and Anatolia, and shaped by the cultural interactions with the Near East. The long-term effects of Akurgal's suggestion, especially on Classical Archaeology in Turkey, produced a discourse based on native Anatolian cultural continuity against fully Hellenised historical discourse<sup>39</sup>. In this context, the archaeological imagination of Anatolianism constructs, as Foucault puts it, "a counter-memory — a transformation of history into a

<sup>37</sup> Özdoğan 1998, p. 117; Erciyas 2005, p. 187.

<sup>38</sup> Akurgal 1966.

<sup>39</sup> Işık 1996.

totally different form of time”<sup>40</sup>. Thus, with a Hegelian perspective, the Anatolianistic paradigm suggests that “historical time is merely the reflection in the continuity of time of the internal essence of the historical totality incarnating a moment of the development of the concept.”<sup>41</sup> The homogenous continuity of Anatolianism is the existence of the essence of the social totality in the historical time. Therefore, it indicates socio-historical contemporaneity with archaeological imagination.

### Cyprus as a New Area for Conflicting Identities

During the last 50 years, Cyprus has seen conflict between exponents of the Greek and Turkish nationalist movements. The island of Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571 until 1878. In 1878, Cyprus was ceded to the British Empire, following Turkey’s defeat in Russo-Turkish wars. From 1878 to 1960 Cyprus was a British island in the Mediterranean. With its independence, the conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriotes emerged. EOKA-B, a para-state terrorist organization, established by General Grivas and supported by the Greek military junta ruling Greece between 1967 and 1974 began a policy of ‘ethnic cleansing’ against the Turkish population on the island; it was called the ‘Akritas Plan.’<sup>42</sup> Five days after the Greek military *coup d’état* in Cyprus on 15 July 1974, the Turkish army disembarked troops onto the island to protect Turkish Cypriots from the Akritas Plan of the militaristic junta. The Turkish army occupied 37.2 per cent of the island, a situation that remains in force today. Since 1974, the Island of Cyprus has had two ‘national’ republics, one of them, the Greek Cypriot-controlled Republic of Cyprus, whereas the other is The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Both have a national discourse based on the ancient past. Their respective constructions of historical past are aimed to minimise the claim of the other. In this context, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have used the archaeology of ancient Salamis to provide support to their opposing political ideas and goals. The Greek Cypriot side has vindicated a national discourse centered on the *Enosis* with the *Megali Idea*, which aims at the revival of the Hellenism and the Byzantine Empire in order to unite all Greek-speaking peoples. According to the Greek Prime Minister, George Papandreou, “Cyprus must become the springboard for the dream of

<sup>40</sup> Foucault 1977, p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> Althusser 1968, p. 93.

<sup>42</sup> Papageorgiou 1983, pp. 250–257.

Alexander the Great in the Orient.”<sup>43</sup> Like its ‘Motherland’, Greece, the national identity of the Greek Cypriots has had an important role in the creation of the historical and cultural superiority of Alexander the Great. The political ideas associated with Hellenism, in particular, drew upon a national tradition for defining a nation in the Greek-speaking territories. In the archaeological context, the reflection of this Hellenistic based policy mainly indicates a relationship between Mainland Greece and Cyprus. On the other hand, according to Given “Throughout the campaign for *Enosis* with Greece, Greek Cypriots refused to believe that they were cultural hybrids or primitives, indigenous barbarians.”<sup>44</sup> In this context, a homogeneous ethnical historical past in Cyprus connects the form of ideal knowledge that is self-centered in the Greek Cypriot mind. Thus, the Greek Cypriots construct the generality of historical phrases in Greek Cyprus. From this point of view, the general attitude in the Cypriot archaeological studies conducted by Greek Cypriots overlooks the Anatolian influence in the ancient civilizations of Cyprus. According to this Cypriot historical paradigm, Anatolian is synonymous with the barbaric and invader Turk, as a paradox ingrained within the Greek psyche. The archaeological studies of Vassos Karageorghis, a well-known Greek Cypriot archaeologist, for instance, contribute to an archaeological framework structured around non-Anatolian notions. Karageorghis designed the construction of his hellenocentric identity portrayed by the Greek national paradigm for the Greek Cypriots, which is evident everywhere in his written works.<sup>45</sup> His very important excavations on Cyprus emphasised the Greekness of Cypriot culture and were employed in modifying and refining the hellenisation hypothesis.<sup>46</sup> After the division of the two ethnic groups on the island with the Turkish military intervention of 1974, excavations at Salamis that were conducted by Karageorghis<sup>47</sup> became a monument possessing great symbolic value for the Greek Cypriots. Thus, the city of Salamis as the first colony of Aegean colonists on the island plays an important role in affirming the links between the Greek Cypriots and their own ancient past in Northern Cyprus. However, according to Silberman, “for a nation like the Republic of Cyprus, with its obvious political attachment to images of Greek antiquity, the extensive excavation and presentation of classical cities

<sup>43</sup> Kathimerini, 28 Oct. 1964.

<sup>44</sup> Given 1998, p. 24.

<sup>45</sup> Karageorghis 1971a; 1971b; 1976; and see Ieromonachou 1992 for the list of publications by V. Karageorghis.

<sup>46</sup> Leriou 2002, p. 18.

<sup>47</sup> Karageorghis 1969.

like Paphos, Kition, and Ammathus are clearly linked to a modern, national self-consciousness.”<sup>48</sup>

Unlike the Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots had not taken part in archaeological studies until 1996 when the North Cyprus Archaeological Survey Project was initiated by Müge Şevketoğlu from the Eastern Mediterranean University.<sup>49</sup> The first Turkish Cypriot archaeologist to work in Cyprus, Şevketoğlu presented the prehistoric archaeological data for the north of the island. As a result of the embargo on the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the archaeological studies conducted by Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus are often interpreted as a destruction of Greek heritage.<sup>50</sup>

The archaeological excavation of Akanthou-Arkosyko (Tatlısu-Çiftlikdüzü) in the Kyrenia district conducted by Şevketoğlu indicates the prehistoric relationship between central Anatolia and Cyprus.<sup>51</sup> In the context of archaeological studies at Akanthou-Arkosyko (Tatlısu-Çiftlikdüzü), the prehistoric and central Anatolian paradigm of archaeological imagination established by the early Republican Turkish elites emerges again, this time in the construction of a Turkish Cypriot archaeological paradigm for the island that offers a counterbalance to the hellenisation hypothesis of Greek Cypriots. On the other hand, according to official discourse declared by Turkish Cypriot authorities against the hellenisation of the island in the distant past, the Greeks did not, at any time, control the whole island. In this context, Zaim M. Necatigil, a famous and important Turkish Cypriot politician on the island, stated “Greek Cypriots claim descent from the early Aegean colonists, but this is disputed by archaeologists. The ancient Greeks did not at any time control the whole island even though they set up separate city kingdoms on the island during the fifth century B.C., the most important of which was Salamis. Besides the Greeks, Phoenicians from Syria also came to Cyprus and settled on its coasts. Moreover, Greek influence was not exclusive; Cyprus had in fact succumbed to a succession of conquerors, such as the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Persians.”<sup>52</sup> As can be seen, according to the Turkish Cypriot national and official discourse, the archaeological past is structured around broad historical identities and geographies that argue a non-Hellenic and holistic historical narrative linking Cyprus with the Near East.

<sup>48</sup> Silberman 1995, p. 259.

<sup>49</sup> Şevketoğlu 1999, 2000.

<sup>50</sup> Knapp and Antoniadou 1998, pp. 24–9, and especially note 1.

<sup>51</sup> Şevketoğlu 2002.

<sup>52</sup> Necatigil 1989, p. 1.

## Conclusion

To conclude, constructing the past means an act of self-definitions with ancestors and a reinterpretation of mythology and symbolism through archaeology to create nations. According to Smith, “the panoply of national symbols only serves to express, represent and reinforce the boundary definition of the nation, and to unite the members inside through a common imagery of shared memories, myths and values.”<sup>53</sup> Archaeology as a national symbolic value mainly has a social and external function, and is characterised by a political culture. The symbolisation of archaeology in the nationalistic context has contributed to define man/woman as an ‘animal symbolicum’<sup>54</sup> with its ethnocentricity deriving from the phenomenological definition of past in terms of the producing self defined against another.

Archaeology gives us our own imagined genealogy and our conflict with ancestors — their histories have both meaning and difference. In the archaeological imagination, the continuity between *ethnos* and *logos* leads to a political field for the exercise of the power of representation. According to Bourdieu, “the mystery of performative magic resolves itself in the mystery of the ministry,” that is, in the “alchemy of representation whereby the representative makes the group that makes him (*sic./her*).”<sup>55</sup> Archaeology as alchemy and its magic through national perceptions shape the issues of symbolic power and imagined social reality as a product of collective works in the cultural production. To keep its innocence, archaeology is elaborated by the archaeologist in the course of historical inquiries into the genesis of a nation.

The modernist Greek and Turkish intelligentsias, who tried to link with the western historicism that both resisted in the nineteenth century, created a Hegelian model “which presupposes a governing structure of self-realization in all historical process.”<sup>56</sup> Western historicism, according to Derrida, has focused on the ‘ethnocentrism’, which is “nothing but the most original and powerful ethnocentrism, in the process of imposing itself upon the world.”<sup>57</sup> Thus, the archaeology that allows articulating data in terms of differentiated paradigms with their own conceptual frames and their own times can contribute to the construction of a historical framework that defines a nation.

<sup>53</sup> Smith 2001, p. 8.

<sup>54</sup> Cassirer 1972, p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> Bourdieu 1991, p. 106.

<sup>56</sup> Young 1995, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Derrida 1976, p. 3.

In the national archaeologies of the Greek and Turkish nations, the archaeological themes, constructed as a historical integration between ancient ancestors and today's people, have been designed to legitimise the modernist political paradigms. The formulation of archaeological imagination in Greek and Turkish societies has been constituted in the dialectical structure between 'the same' and 'the other'. The formulation of this dualistic division in the historical construction is itself a nostalgic attempt with the "imagined simplicity" of the invented ancestors for the sake of nationalism. In this context, the role of the intelligentsia validates the cultural and political construction of which they are a part, being national psyches burdened with the integrity of historical geography. The mission of the Archaeological Praxis in these societies has been emphasised in the Hellenisation hypothesis by the Greeks and Anatolianistic hypothesis structured around central Anatolia by the Turks.

In the Greek-Turkish World, the culturally contextual effects of this dialectic between the sameness and the otherness, produced by social perceptions through national identity lead to social formations belonging to antagonistic relations determined by imagined historical paradigms. These paradigms are designed to restore the story of national continuities from ancient to present. In this situation, the forms of knowledge produce the 'natural' and "homogeneous" nations in the geography. Such knowledge reassembles and reflects the ancient past. Archaeology itself constructs the past, which is socially situated and fraught with political imaginations.

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# Migration, Diffusion and Emulation: Petrographic Comparisons of Early Transcaucasian and Anatolian Pottery from Malatya-Elazığ, Turkey

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\* This project is part of a larger study organized by Mitchell Rothman of Widener University who also made the cultural and stylistic identifications of the pottery used in the

## Abstract

*The spread of Early Transcaucasian (ETC) pottery, portable hearths and architecture across a vast swath of the ancient Near East from northeast Anatolia to the southern Levant during the fourth and third millennia BC, has been an issue of intense research and debate. Recently scholars have suggested a combination of factors such as migration of populations, diffusion, and local emulation of foreign styles to explain this cultural phenomenon. One productive way to examine this problem is with an analysis of the chemistry and mineralogy of ETC style pottery to address issues such as geological source, manufacturing techniques and regional differences. This paper presents the results of a petrographic analysis of pottery from Malatya-Elazığ region of Turkey and suggests most ETC style pottery in Anatolia was manufactured locally while a small portion appears to have either been made of imported materials or technology.\**

## Recent Theoretical Approaches to the Early Transcaucasian Question

In the fourth and third millennia BC, a unique material culture from Transcaucasia culture including distinct Red-Black Burnished pottery, bone implements, horned animal figurines, metal objects, and iron or portable hearth fragments and unique architectural elements, spread from the region of Georgia and Armenia through northwestern Iran to eastern Anatolia, the Upper Euphrates and the southern Levant.<sup>1</sup> Archaeological evidence for this substantial phenomenon<sup>2</sup> can be found in areas such as Iran, the Amuq plain, Syria, Palestine, and the “Caspian littoral”.<sup>3</sup> Termed Early Transcaucasian Culture (hereafter ETC), also referred to as Kura-Araxes, Karaz or Khirbet Kerak culture, appears to have originated approximately 3500 BC near the Kura and Arax Rivers in the modern countries of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan<sup>4</sup> a region with a wide range of environmental variation including mountains, valleys, plateaus, depressions, steppes, and coastal plains.<sup>5</sup> The environmental conditions of the area and zooarchaeological remains at several important regional sites support the idea that its fourth millennium BC inhabitants were transhumance pastoralists (rather than

analyses. We are greatly indebted to him for initiating and organizing this research. The pottery samples were obtained through the generous help of Aynur Özfırat of Van University who provided sherds collected from the survey of Veli Sevin. We are also grateful to professors Jan Brashler of the Anthropology Department, Figen Mekik of the Geology Department, Neal Rogness of the Statistics Consulting Center and Soon Hong of the Statistics Department of Grand Valley State University for their technical advice. This project was funded by research grants from Grand Valley State University.

<sup>1</sup> Kiguradze and Sagona 2003, Sagona 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Kohl 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Kohl 1992b.

<sup>4</sup> Batiuk 2005, Sagona 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Kohl 1992a.

nomadic pastoralists),<sup>6</sup> traders, and small farmers,<sup>7</sup> though it is believed that pastoralism was more prevalent in the region than agriculture.<sup>8</sup> While it is possible that large Kura-Araxes settlements might lie under the remains of later settlements, the evidence to date suggests that most ETC settlements were less than 5 ha. in size.<sup>9</sup>

The nature of the spread of ETC culture has been a major avenue of research for anthropologists interested in the development of early complex societies in the Near East. The fundamental question that still remains is the nature of the distribution of these artifacts. Were they a result of a migration of peoples out of the Transcaucasus or were they a product of trade in metallurgical technology and ores? Were artifacts in Anatolia and the Levant made locally by potters emulating foreign styles or by migrants from Transcaucasia? Or have all of these possible scenarios occurred in different regions and at different times?<sup>10</sup>

Several theoretical approaches such as the migration of peoples, trade and diffusion of artifacts and artifact styles, and local emulation or assimilation have been used to answer these questions and explain the spread of Early Transcaucasian Culture. Migration, or “the movement of groups or individuals from their living place to another place”,<sup>11</sup> can be instigated by negative “push” factors from the migrants’ home region, and by a positive “pulls” toward the destination region.<sup>12</sup> These push factors can include such as lack of land, overpopulation, environmental damage, or better economic opportunities elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Often in the case of prehistoric migrations, the push and pull factors are difficult to determine or have disappeared in the archaeological record.<sup>14</sup> The idea that Transcaucasian migrations were “an outpouring of barbarians from the North upon a more civilized people from the South”,<sup>15</sup> have been discounted because of the lack of evidence for a violent invasion.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the development of ETC occurred during an environmentally optimal period in the Caucasus, not a period of ecological stress.<sup>17</sup> It is quite possible that ETC people moved south into

<sup>6</sup> Connor and Sagona 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Rothman 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Kohl 1992b.

<sup>9</sup> Kohl 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Abay 2005.

<sup>12</sup> Batiuk 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Burmeister 2000.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony 1990.

<sup>15</sup> Hood 1951.

<sup>16</sup> Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>17</sup> Connor and Sagona 2007.



Anatolia because other groups were moving north into the Kura-Araxes region.<sup>18</sup>

Short distance migrations that occur within a limited geographical setting and do not go beyond local areas such as the movements practiced by hunter-gatherers, pastoral herders, unspecialized farmer-stockbreeders, and prehistoric incipient gardeners would leave little archaeological trace.<sup>19</sup> Long distance migrations on the other hand, can be clearly detected in the archaeological record because these movements cross ecological and cultural boundaries. Long distance migrations can be characterized using models such as leapfrogging, migration streams, and return migrations<sup>20</sup> where typically the number of migrants decreases as migratory distance increases.<sup>21</sup> The numerous ETC sites in Transcaucasia and northeastern Anatolia and signs of sudden abandonment of several of these sites supports the idea of shifting cultivation practices<sup>22</sup> and may explain the stimulus for population movement.

Recently the discussion of migrations across Anatolia from the Transcaucasus has become more nuanced, seen now as a series of movements as opposed to one massive migration. The 'ripples in a stream' approach<sup>23</sup> implies that the social organization of the migration groups was divided into 'segmentary units', which broke off from a larger population, yet still maintained cultural similarities. These migrations appear to be caused by unexplainable, rapid population growth as well as variations in settlement patterns.<sup>24</sup> The actual spread of material culture appears to have been the result of a complex blend of population movement, cultural assimilation and diffusion.<sup>25</sup>

However, the degree of the spread of ETC does not appear to have been simply the result of geographic distance. Circular houses, hearths, and andirons, are present in the Malatya-Elazığ region of Turkey before they are found in the Van and Muş areas, regions that are closer to the Transcaucasian heartland. Some argue that this can be explained with a 'leapfrogging' migration model,<sup>26</sup> in which 'islands' of settlement in desirable or attractive locations, are separated by areas of unsettled, less desirable

<sup>18</sup> Kohl 2007.

<sup>19</sup> Anthony 1990.

<sup>20</sup> Anthony 1990.

<sup>21</sup> Burmeister 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Kohl 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Rothman 2003.

<sup>24</sup> Rothman 2003.

<sup>25</sup> Rothman 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Abay 2005.

regions.<sup>27</sup> Malatya-Elazığ was believed to be an attractive area due to its sources of metals, fertile soils, grazing land, and strategic location on trade routes.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting that in general, these ETC groups seem to have avoided areas such as large settled areas on the northern Mesopotamian plain.<sup>29</sup>

As has been argued before, the presence of a material culture does not necessarily represent the presence of an ethnic group.<sup>30</sup> Other factors that could have been at work then are trade and emulation. There is the possibility that many ETC artifacts in Anatolia were made in Transcaucasia and then traded to other areas, but diffusion of ideas and inventions could also have inspired cultural change,<sup>31</sup> without Transcaucasians themselves present. Some believe that ETC pottery in the Levant, typically called Khirbet Kerak Ware shows evidence of being the result more of cultural contact than of mass migration or long-distance trade.<sup>32</sup>

Emulation, the borrowing of foreign styles by local inhabitants, and the assimilation of ETC material culture into local culture may have also had a major role in the appearance of these artifacts over such a wide geographic area. Professional itinerant potters from Transcaucasia may have had a part to play during the initial migrations until Transcaucasians settled permanently in areas of Anatolia and the Levant.<sup>33</sup> The analysis of ETC ware in the Levant seems to support this notion and suggests the appearance here is the result of an immigration of specialized craftsmen from Transcaucasia or eastern Anatolia.<sup>34</sup> In areas such as the Amuq plain, evidence shows that open form vessels were preferred and therefore, were not used for transporting goods,<sup>35</sup> suggesting that the vessels were locally produced.

### The Malatya-Elazığ Region:

The Malatya-Elazığ region (Fig. 1) is an ideal area in which to address the issues of migration, trade and assimilation/emulation in relation to the spread of Early Transcaucasian culture for several reasons. As a meeting

<sup>27</sup> Anthony 1990.

<sup>28</sup> Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>29</sup> Kohl 2007.

<sup>30</sup> Kramer 1977.

<sup>31</sup> Abay 2005.

<sup>32</sup> Todd 1973, Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>33</sup> Hennessey 1967, Miroschedji 2000, Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>34</sup> Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

<sup>35</sup> Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

point for routes from Mesopotamia, Central Anatolia, and Transcaucasia, Malatya served as a major cultural cross-road for millennia.<sup>36</sup> The region is also fairly well known archaeologically with examples of Mesopotamian cultural traditions occurring simultaneously with Transcaucasian traditions in this region. One of the best documented sites in the area is Arslantepe, which shows evidence of indirect trade with Mesopotamia,<sup>37</sup> during the mid-late fourth millennium BC when trading colonies and enclaves in Northern Syria and Southeast Anatolia were established as part of the Uruk expansion.<sup>38</sup> Based upon administrative artifacts and various types of pottery found within public buildings at Arslantepe, this polity was most likely a complex chiefdom with a Mesopotamian-inspired organization supported by smaller villages within its territory.<sup>39</sup>

From the Early Bronze Age I to the Early Bronze Age III, Arslantepe grew to be a small state and at this time the number and percentages of ETC pottery types increases in the area prompting the question whether Transcaucasian culture and the influx of people from Transcaucasia or northeast Anatolia had an influence on Arslantepe's political development. The material culture at Arslantepe illustrates a blending of the two distinct cultures, such as the mass produced flint-scraped Coba bowls and Transcaucasian-inspired red-black burnished wares found together in a temple<sup>40</sup> in addition to an elite tomb that contained both Transcaucasian and Mesopotamian influenced pottery. Pottery found buried with these individuals, near their skulls, were Transcaucasian, while those at their feet were Mesopotamian reserve-slip jars,<sup>41</sup> indicating cultural mixing.

### Early Transcaucasian Material Culture:

The material culture identified as Early Transcaucasian is fairly distinct from the contemporaneous pottery and architecture of Anatolia and the Levant. In general, ETC culture can be identified at local sites in the region but there are numerous examples of hybridization of styles that demonstrate a melding of ETC and local traditions.<sup>42</sup> Typically ETC culture can

<sup>36</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007

<sup>37</sup> Frangipane 2001.

<sup>38</sup> Algaze 1993, Stein 1999.

<sup>39</sup> Frangipane and Palmieri 1987.

<sup>40</sup> Palmieri 1981.

<sup>41</sup> Rothman 2003.

<sup>42</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007.

be identified through architectural styles and the presence of portable hearths and Red-Black Burnished pottery.

Anthropomorphic, horseshoe shaped andirons or portable hearths are found over a wide geographic area from Cinis Höyük in northeastern Anatolia,<sup>43</sup> Beth Shan<sup>44</sup> and Beth Yerah<sup>45</sup> in the southern Levant, Tabra el-Akrad, Tell Judeideh, Tell Tainat, and Tell Dahab in the Amuq plain<sup>46</sup> at Tell Mozan in Upper Syria<sup>47</sup> and Shengavit and Amiranis Gora in the Caucasus<sup>48</sup>. In general Early Transcaucasian andirons tend to have horn-like projections or to be horseshoe-shaped.<sup>49</sup> Fragments of idols found with andirons at Pulus Höyük also support the idea that these andirons were not simply domestic items but had ritual significance.<sup>50</sup>

These decorated andirons have been interpreted by many scholars to be evidence of widespread religious practices focused on domestic rituals associated with fire or hearths.<sup>51</sup> The paucity of large public religious structures at these Early Transcaucasian sites places a greater importance on these andirons.<sup>52</sup> While andirons also had utilitarian uses as well, ethnographic data on nomadic societies as well as anthropomorphic designs on many andirons suggest they also played a role in rituals.<sup>53</sup> Andirons may reflect the itinerant lifestyle of Transcaucasian society demonstrated by an increase in the use of andirons during the late fourth Millennium B.C. when pastoralism increased in importance.<sup>54</sup> Aside from hearths, Transcaucasian culture displays other distinctive features such as rectilinear, subrectangular, and circular architectural designs following a generalized layout of a central circular built-in hearth, a bench along the back wall, and an antechamber/storeroom at the front of the house — reminiscent of a nomadic tent.<sup>55</sup>

By far the most distinct element of Early Transcaucasian Culture is the Red-Black Burnished Ware, characterized by bichromy between the external and internal surfaces of the vessels. Typically, the outer surface is black

<sup>43</sup> Takaoğlu 2000.

<sup>44</sup> Fitzgerald 1935: pl X.18.

<sup>45</sup> Amiran 1952: pl 6d; 1989.

<sup>46</sup> Hood 1951: fig 9.

<sup>47</sup> Buccellati 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Chubinishvili 1966: fig 31.

<sup>49</sup> Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>50</sup> Amiran 1989, Takaoğlu 2000.

<sup>51</sup> Takaoğlu 2000.

<sup>52</sup> Sagona 1998.

<sup>53</sup> Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>55</sup> Sagona 1998.

and burnished often with incised raised designs, while the interior surface ranges in color from red, reddish brown, brown, light brown, and pink and is rarely burnished.<sup>56</sup> Vessels were usually handmade using either coils or slabs and some samples have textile or mat impressions on their bases. They are also characteristically gritty due to quartz, obsidian, or grog inclusions<sup>57</sup> making them very different from contemporaneous local Anatolian and Levantine wheel-made, buff colored, painted pottery.<sup>58</sup> Recent analyses seem to suggest that this pottery style actually originated in the Erzurum region of northeast Anatolia initially and then spread east to Transcaucasia and West to Malatya.<sup>59</sup>

## Methodology

Pottery is an excellent material with which to address questions concerning the expansion of ETC culture. The ubiquity of ETC pottery at archaeological sites in Malatya, its stylistic distinction and the availability of sourcing techniques such as petrography and neutron activation analysis makes pottery ideally suited to examine the geographic origin, spread of, and development of ETC material culture. The preliminary study outlined here is part of a larger project initiated by Professor Mitchell Rothman of Widener University to perform an in depth investigation of the ETC cultural phenomenon in Anatolia and Transcaucasia utilizing petrography, neutron activation analysis and further excavation of ETC sites. We were fortunate to obtain a representative sample of sherds from a survey done by Veli Sevin of the Malatya-Elazığ region.<sup>60</sup> Rothman assigned cultural designations of the pottery based on their stylistic attributes (rim shape, form, etc.) and sorted them into ETC and Local/Hybrid categories.

## Analyses and Results

Comparative analyses of the mineralogy of the sherds' petrofabric were used to help determine whether ETC vessels were made from local or non-local clay sources and tempering materials thereby elucidating the social processes that resulted in the spread of these foreign styles. Petrography is

<sup>56</sup> Palumbi 2003.

<sup>57</sup> Kiguradze and Sagona 2003.

<sup>58</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007.

<sup>59</sup> Kiguradze and Sagona 2003, Palumbi 2003.

<sup>60</sup> Sevin 1986, 1988.

relatively fast and inexpensive in comparison to other techniques used, employing different wavelengths of light to identify specific minerals that were found in the natural clay deposits or added as temper.<sup>61</sup> An Olympus BX51 TRF polarizing microscope was used for point counting. Approximately 194 point counting observations were taken per sample and were recorded as matrix (fine clay or silt), coarse fraction (identifiable mineral larger than 0.31 mm), and voids (pores within the matrix where no minerals were present).<sup>62</sup>

Maps provided by the Institute of Mineral Research and Exploration, in Ankara Turkey, characterized the local geology of Malatya-Elazığ as one containing basalt, granite, diorite, gneiss, marble, limestone and dolomite outcrops. The frequency and grain sizes of individual inclusions were recorded for the most prevalent ones in the samples, namely: basalt, plagioclase, quartz, feldspar, carbonates, iron oxide, calcite, olivine, pyroxene, and fossils. Plagioclase, basalts, and carbonates were some of the most frequently observed minerals in the pottery samples, while olivine gabbro was less common.

Qualitative observations were used for estimates of the presence of voids, coarse fraction elements and matrix, in addition to the color, homogeneity and packing of the matrix, the roundness, angularity and sorting of the mineral inclusions, and other distinguishing characteristics of the clay fabric. Visual comparisons of the presence or absence of certain minerals<sup>63</sup> was employed and in general, there was little correlation between mineralogy and stylistic or geographic attributes. Samples from the site of Pinartepe showed variability in terms of the sorting of minerals and contained weathered sedimentary rocks and minerals possibly indicating that the clay may have been gathered near a river or in its banks. The abundance of calcite minerals, basalt, plagioclase, and a microfossil are consistent with this hypothesis. Karahöyük 18 contained poorly sorted basalt, plagioclase, calcite, and sandstone and appears to be similar to Pinartepe 7, possibly indicating that they may have shared the same clay source.

More statistically rigorous techniques did yield some interesting results. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis was an appropriate tool for this small data set, as opposed to K-Means Cluster Analysis, typically used on larger sample sizes, or Two-Step Cluster Analysis used for categorical data.<sup>64</sup> Cluster analyses of the grain sizes of all minerals found in each sample did not yield

<sup>61</sup> Adan-Bayewitz and Wieder 1992.

<sup>62</sup> Felts 1942.

<sup>63</sup> Oates 1977.

<sup>64</sup> Everitt 1993.

any noticeable patterns with little significant clustering. The variability in mineral grain size was high and there were no consistent differences between sites or stylistic groups to suggest either different geologic origins or techniques of manufacture for the pottery.

The analysis of the coarse fraction highlighting the quantities of specific minerals in each sample proved useful in demonstrating determinable differences and similarities between groups. Statistically (Fig. 2) four groups were discernable and in general clusters of samples correlated more strongly with their site provenience than with their cultural affiliation based on stylistic characteristics. This seems to suggest that ETC related vessels and local and hybrid vessels were either made from the same clay sources or made with the same added inclusions implying local production. One cluster (2) was comprised of three ETC style sherds (Konk 14, Konk 28 and Kilistepe 10) and one hybrid ETC sherd (Karahoyuk 14) whose triangular lug suggests an ETC style but whose vessel form appears to be more local in origin. This vessel also had a high percentage of voids (20.44%) as compared to the other samples in the cluster whose void percentages ranged from 4.64% to 10.14%. The vessels within this cluster demonstrated differential firing in their cross sections showing bands of black and red matrix. This raises the possibility that a group of ETC vessels from Transcaucasia were present in this sample but this assertion is obviously very tentative.

These initial conclusions were tested using Factor Analysis (FA) and Principle Component Analysis (PCA). Factor Analyses were conducted on the mineralogy and the grain sizes of the coarse fraction of the samples to generate eigen values in order to determine how many components were significant throughout the samples. The first two components are typically the most statistically significant and explain the most variability.<sup>65</sup> These were then plotted on a bivariate plot to show groupings of samples. In general there was a high degree of variability in the size of mineral inclusions but two ETC samples (Kilistepe 10, Konk 14) that previously correlated well in terms of the percentages of different minerals also had similar ratios of coarse fraction sizes.

Examining the Principal Component plot (Figs 3 and 4), there appear to be five definable groups whose membership appears to be based principally on site origin rather than cultural affiliation as was previously observed using cluster analysis. Group 4 contained a cluster of four ETC samples (Karahoyuk 18, Kovenk 32, Tilenzit 25 and Tilenzit 27) again raising the possibility that some of the material in this region of Anatolia has a Tran-

<sup>65</sup> Jae-On 1978.

scaucasian or northeast Anatolian origin. Most of these samples were consistent in terms of the bichromy of their cross sections and the percentages of voids present. The two samples from Tilenzit also had similar grain size distributions and seemed to cluster on the Principal Component Analysis plot of their eigen values. This again raises the possibility that ETC style vessels in Anatolia either have a Transcaucasian origin or a Transcaucasian manufacturing process. The group of ETC sherds previously identified with cluster analysis seems to group together with Principal Component Analysis as well (Fig. 4 Group 2).

A side by side comparison of the groups (Fig. 5) generated by cluster analysis and Principal Component Analysis does show this pattern. Many of the samples that clustered in the first statistical technique also grouped together in the second. For example, Cluster 1 from the coarse fraction dendrogram and Group 1 from the Principal Component Analysis plot contain almost all of the same samples, except for two (Fig. 5). Once again, sample mineralogy seems to correlate more strongly with site origin than with cultural affiliation.

## Discussion and Conclusions

The small number of samples analyzed and their secondary archaeological context limits our ability to make strong conclusions at this stage. However, cluster analyses and principal component analyses suggest that emulation and assimilation could be leading factors in explaining the presence of Early Transcaucasian material culture in the Malatya-Elazığ region of Turkey during the fourth and third millennia BC. Pottery samples from specific sites do share mineralogical similarity and cluster together more strongly with each other than sherds identified either as Anatolian or ETC in style. These findings are also consistent with recent work in Syria and Palestine, which demonstrates that Red-Black Burnished Ware vessels were manufactured locally.<sup>66</sup> While all sherds from a specific site do not cluster together, this may be explained by either clay variability, or more likely by exchange between sites in the Malatya-Elazığ region. While there does not appear to be a large movement of vessels from Transcaucasia, initial results do suggest that some of the ETC sherds found in this region of Turkey could have had a Transcaucasian origin. This possibility could be further explored with more samples in addition to material from Transcaucasian sites.

<sup>66</sup> Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.



One major question remaining is who manufactured ETC style vessels in Anatolia?—traveling potters from the Transcaucasian region,<sup>67</sup> local inhabitants replicating these vessels or assimilated peoples of Transcaucasian descent? Here the issues of ethnicity, assimilation and their material correlates further add to the complexity of the problem. Most probably, the degree of local production by specific cultural groups differs by region and time period. As pointed out by other scholars, the movement of this material culture was not uniform across the region of Transcaucasia, Anatolia and the Levant and did not necessarily represent the movement of people.<sup>68</sup> In fact, there are distinct sub-regional traditions and typologies in Transcaucasia in the larger context of Red-Black Burnished Wares.<sup>69</sup> There were also changes in the nature of this movement through time as well.<sup>70</sup>

The best way to address the issue of manufacturing is to examine the production techniques of the ETC pottery in Anatolia and compare them to the techniques employed in the manufacture of vessels from Transcaucasia and northeast Anatolia. Thus far, analysis of grain sizes and angularity of mineral conclusions, the percentages of voids, and the sorting of the clays were unable to distinguish manufacturing techniques. Stylistically, the vessels from the Malya-Elazığ area used in this study show a variation of forms, from clearly identifiable ETC wares, to hybrid wares showing a mixture of ETC and local Anatolian features, to local Anatolian wares that are different from ETC wares both in terms of morphology and production technology.<sup>71</sup> In general, red-black burnished wares from the Malya-Elazığ region are stylistically different from ETC wares from Transcaucasia<sup>72</sup> although some of the earliest ETC vessels from Arslantepe level VII (second half of fourth millennium BC), are distinct from local pots in terms of their production techniques and appear to have been either imported from another area or made in a non-specialist context.<sup>73</sup> Expanded future research might compare ETC sherds in Anatolia from different time periods to see if earlier pottery assemblages evidence either a higher percentage of imported vessels or imported technology while later ones a higher percentage of locally produced vessels using local techniques. Similar analyses in the Levant suggest that ETC wares were made locally with some vessels

<sup>67</sup> Hennessey 1967, Miroschedji 2000, Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>68</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007.

<sup>69</sup> Palumbi 2003.

<sup>70</sup> Rothman 2005.

<sup>71</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007.

<sup>72</sup> Sagona 1984.

<sup>73</sup> Palumbi 2003.

showing a mixture of local and foreign techniques while others had forms that could be traced back to eastern Anatolia.<sup>74</sup>

The preliminary results demonstrate the utility of these methods in addressing this complex archaeological question. Initial tests suggest a high degree of local manufacture of ETC style vessels in Anatolia but also raise the strong possibility that a small portion of these were either from Transcaucasia or manufactured with an imported technology demonstrating multiple factors at work in the spread of Early Transcaucasian Culture. The preliminary results also demonstrate the potential for expanded research as part of a broader project involving Neutron Activation Analyses and stylistic and technological analyses. Future research can include modern clay samples and vessels from primary archaeological contexts so a diachronic comparison of clay source and production areas can be examined. In addition, pottery and clays from Transcaucasia could serve as a comparison to sherds from Anatolia. A stylistic and mineralogical examination of ETC ‘andirons’ would also be useful to expand the study to other distinctive forms of Transcaucasian material culture. These supplementary studies can help us further understand the complexities of the presence of ETC pottery in this region of the ancient Near East.

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<sup>74</sup> Batiuk and Rothman 2007.

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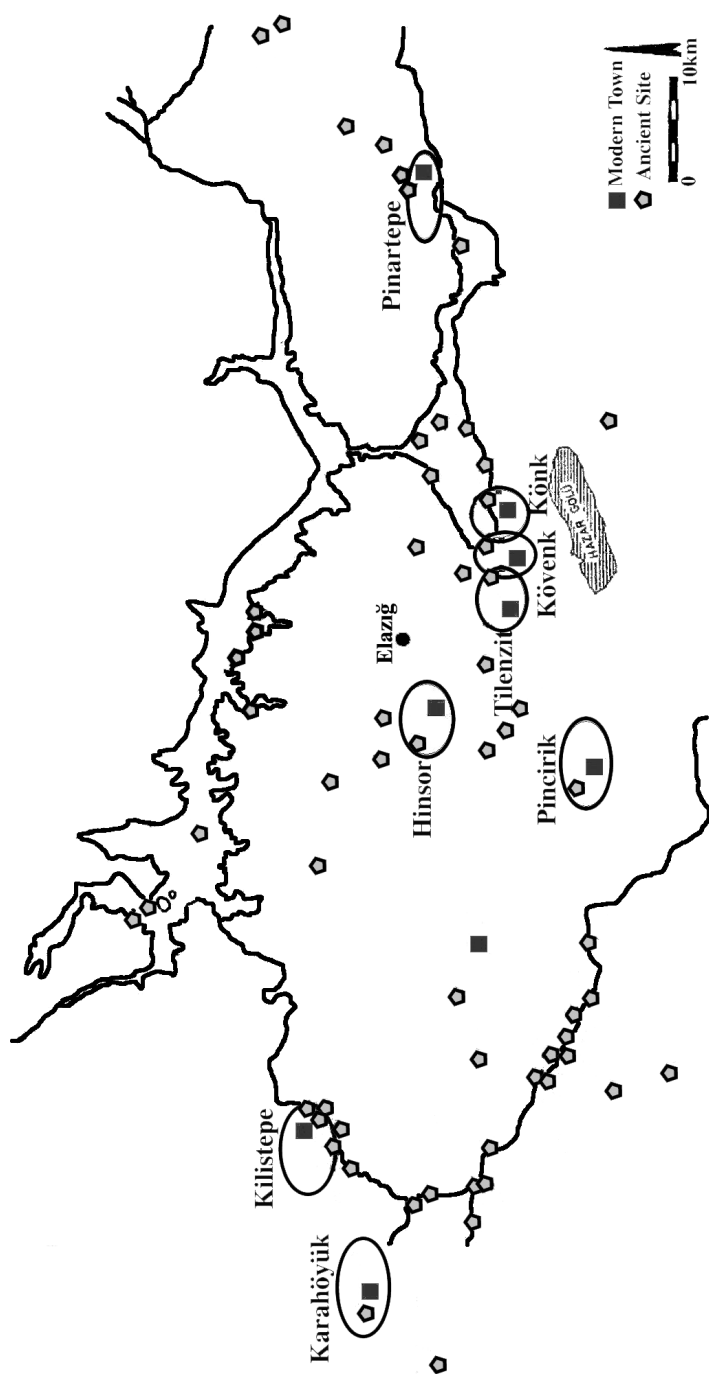


Fig. 1: Map of the Malya-Elazığ region showing the location of some of the pottery samples used in this study (after V. Sevin 1986, 1988).





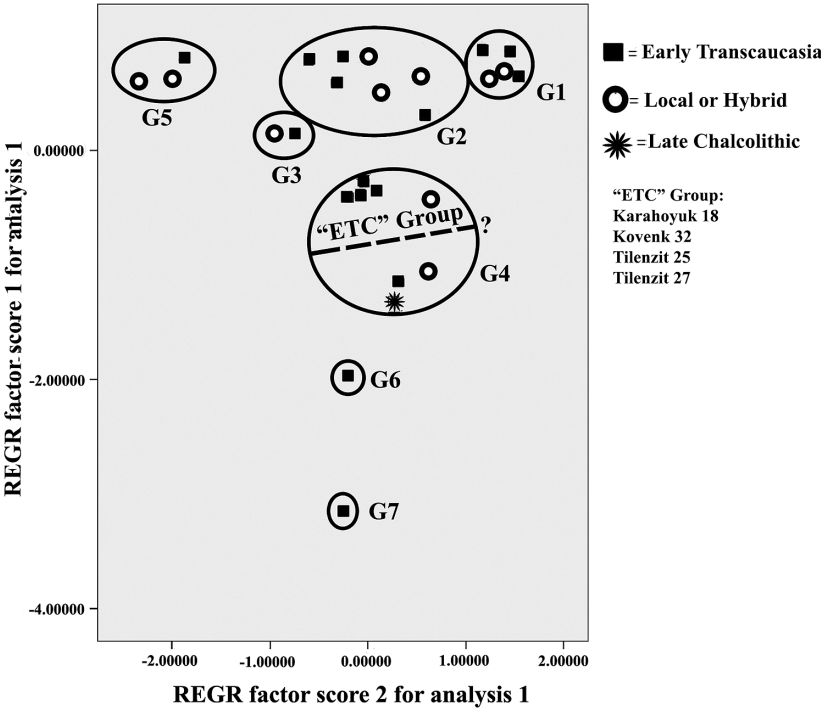


Fig. 3: Principal Component Analysis bivariate plot of sample mineral composition correlated with cultural affiliation.

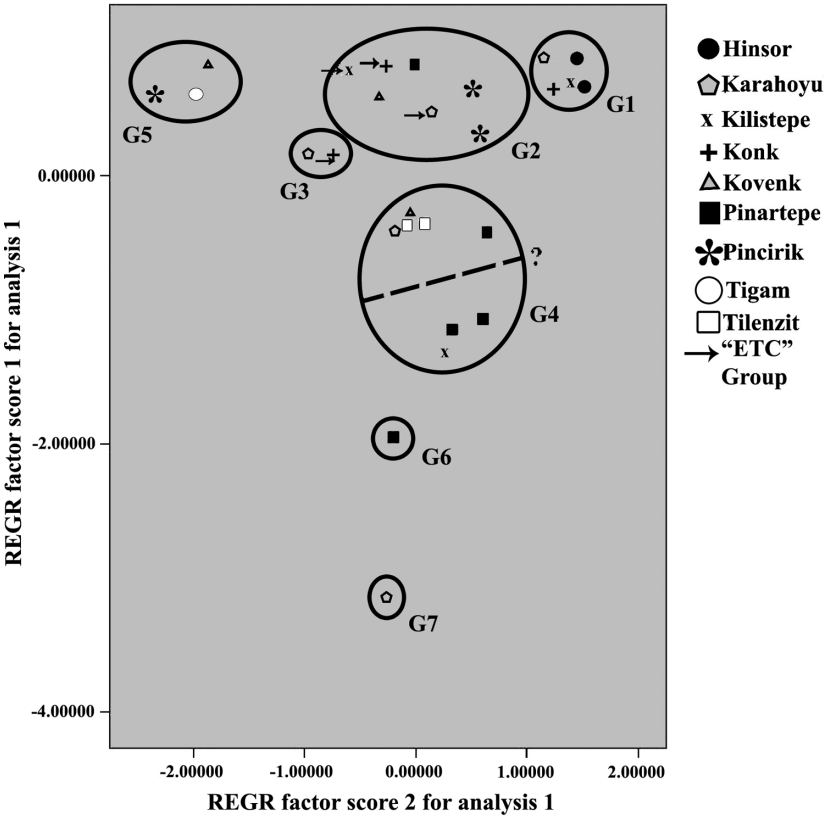


Fig. 4: Principal Component Analysis bivariate plot of sample mineral composition correlated with site provenience.

Sample	Cluster Analysis	Principle Component Analysis
<b>Group</b>	<b>Hinsor 32--ETC</b>	<b>Hinsor 32--ETC</b>
	<b>Hinsor 8--ETC</b>	<b>Hinsor 8--ETC</b>
	<b>Karahoyuk 11--ETC</b>	<b>Karahoyuk 11--ETC</b>
	<b>Kilistepe 6--EB</b>	<b>Kilistepe 6--EB</b>
	<b>Konk 11--EB</b>	<b>Konk 11--EB</b>
	<b>Kovenk 8--ETC</b>	<b>Kovenk 8--ETC</b>
	<b>Pinartepe 27--EB</b>	<b>Pinartepe 27--EB</b>
<b>Group</b>	<b>Karahoyuk 14--EB</b>	<b>Karahoyuk 14--EB</b>
	<b>Konk 14--ETC</b>	<b>Konk 14--ETC</b>
	<b>Konk 28--ETC</b>	
	<b>Kilistepe 10--ETC</b>	<b>Kilistepe 10--ETC</b>
<b>Group</b>	<b>Pincirik 10--EB</b>	<b>Pincirik 10--EB</b>
	<b>Pincirik 19--ETC</b>	<b>Pincirik 19--ETC</b>
		<b>Karahoyuk 17--EB</b>
		<b>Konk 28--ETC</b>
<b>Group</b>	<b>Karahoyuk 8--ETC</b>	
	<b>Karahoyuk 18--ETC</b>	<b>Karahoyuk 18--ETC</b>
	<b>Kilistepe 47--LC</b>	<b>Kilistepe 47--LC</b>
	<b>Kovenk 32--ETC</b>	<b>Kovenk 32--ETC</b>
	<b>Pinartepe 18--EB</b>	<b>Pinartepe 18--EB</b>
	<b>Pinartepe 21--EB</b>	<b>Pinartepe 21--EB</b>
	<b>Pinartepe 29--ETC</b>	<b>Pinartepe 29--ETC</b>
	<b>Pinartepe 7--ETC</b>	
	<b>Tilenzit 25--ETC</b>	<b>Tilenzit 25--ETC</b>
	<b>Tilenzit 27--ETC</b>	<b>Tilenzit 27--ETC</b>
<b>Group</b>	<b>Karahoyuk 17--EB</b>	
<b>Group</b>	<b>Kovenk 6--ETC</b>	<b>Kovenk 6--ETC</b>
<b>Group</b>	<b>Pincirik 45--EB</b>	<b>Pincirik 45--EB</b>
<b>Group</b>	<b>Tigam 11--EB</b>	<b>Tigam 11--EB</b>
		<b>Pinartepe 7--ETC</b>
		<b>Karahoyuk 8--ETC</b>

Fig. 5: Side-by-side comparison of groupings constructed with cluster analysis and principal component analysis.

# Habur Ware: Where are the Stylistic and Functional Sources of the Painted Pottery of the Second Millennium BCE Habur River Basin?

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## Abstract

*The problem of origin, development and cultural affiliation of Habur Ware has been disputed for decades. Four main theories have been proposed to explain the phenomenon: theory of an eastern origin, theory of a Trans-Caucasian origin, an indigenous origin theory and a Syro-Cilician origin theory. In the following discussion, the author puts a proposition that the origin and development of Habur Ware was a multidirectional phenomenon i.e. that Habur Ware was typologically rooted in third millennium pottery tradition of North Mesopotamia (which is a proof of the persistence of traditional ways of consumption), while its geometric decoration was strongly influenced by painted pottery of Syro-Cilicia (that was an effect of adoption of fashionable decorative motifs).\**

At the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, a new characteristic painted pottery appeared in northern Mesopotamia. The distinctive painted ware was first recognised at the site of Chagar Bazar in north-west Syria, and named Habur Ware after the place of its discovery.<sup>1</sup> Despite years of schol-

\* The article is the fruit of an Andrew W. Mellon scholarship held in 2003 at the American School of Oriental Research, The Albright Institute, Jerusalem, where, as a newly wed, I was accompanied by my wife Magdalena, who was my great support and inspiration.

<sup>1</sup> Mallowan 1936; 1937; 1947, p. 103.

arly debate, there are still many questions that have not been solved. Where did the painted ware originate? What was the socio-political and economic context of its development? Are we justified to affiliate the appearance of Habur Ware with any ethnic element, which operated in northern Mesopotamia at the turn of millennia?

The goal of this discussion is to test a model, which explains where and in what manner did Habur Ware originate. The model has been based upon comparative studies, which aimed to trace similarities and differences between some characteristic pottery forms and painted decoration of Habur Ware compared with the decorative motifs and pottery repertoire of other wares that were in use in Syro-Mesopotamia at the same time or before Habur Ware appeared.

The pottery group that belongs to Habur Ware is a typological continuation of the third millennium pottery tradition of northern Mesopotamia. In this aspect, this is an autochthonic element. Also the characteristic painted decoration — horizontal bands — has its roots in indigenous tradition. Geometric decoration, which appeared in classic Habur Ware has, in author's view, its sources outside Habur River Basin, moreover outside Mesopotamia. Sites with pottery having similar painted decoration have been found north-west, north and north-east of Mesopotamia — in Cilicia, north of Taurus Mountains and in central-eastern part of Anatolia as far as Lake Van, Lake Urmia and the northern part of Zagros Mountains. Until now, there have been three allochthonous theories proposed (they are in many ways contradictory to each other). They point at sources of the foreign decorations:

- a. The theory of a western origin, which affiliated Habur Ware with Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery,
- b. The theory of an eastern origin (developed by Sir Mallowan; connecting Habur Ware with Western Iran and the Hurrians), and,
- c. A Trans-Caucasian origin theory linking Habur Ware with painted pottery of the Malatya-Elazığ region in Anatolia.

What has skipped the attention of scholars who supported one of the three theories is the possibility that all three candidates of foreign pottery 'prototypes' of Habur Ware may have belonged to a common pottery horizon, perhaps to the so-called Early Trans-Caucasian Cultural Zone.<sup>2</sup> This supposition could explain the fact that despite some differences in typology

<sup>2</sup> Burney and Lang 1971, p. 64; Burney 1977, p. 130. Literature on this subject is vast. For the most recent appraisals see Kohl 2007, p. 86–102.

and decoration, the three pottery groups share a common ‘concept’ of decoration. It is impossible to prove the relationship between Habur Ware and only *one* of the three pottery groups, to prove one of the three theories and to discard the remaining two. Ultimately we cannot escape the likelihood that they are inter-related.

Nor can we exclude the possibility that the appearance of the Trans-Caucasian Cultural Zone, which we here affiliate with a certain painted pottery horizon, is a material trace of the migration of new peoples (presumably Indo-Europeans and/or Hurrians). Contacts between these people and the users of Habur Ware could have witnessed the adoption by the latter of new fashionable decorative motifs. Among the known pottery groups, which might have belonged to the Trans-Caucasian Pottery Horizon, the Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery of Tarsus and Mersin shows the highest level of similarity (in respect to decorative motifs) to Habur Ware. Thus this pottery group should be referred to as the most probable source of inspiration for the decorative motifs of Habur Ware.

According to some, Habur Ware should not be assigned to any specific ethnic group (in the past it had been connected with Hurrian elements by Mallowan). Kramer’s study has been often cited as proving a lack of relationship between Hurrians and painted Habur Ware.<sup>3</sup> The problem has a methodological dimension as well. Indo-Europeans and Hurrians are just general labels for people who speak languages or dialects, which belong to the same language group. We have no concept of how this quality relates to ethnicity.<sup>4</sup> Appearance and development of the ware should be rather viewed in context of the new socio-political and economic order that corresponds to the appearance of new political entities in Syria and northern Mesopotamia from the beginning of the second millennium BCE. Its development and diffusion were probably driven by the new system of trade exchange — the *Karum* system of the Old Assyrian Period.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Kramer 1971; 1977.

<sup>4</sup> For the latest discussion on this problem see Anthony 2007.

<sup>5</sup> The majority of the *Kārum* Kanesh texts relating to the Old Assyrian long-distance trade colonies comes from Level II of Kanesh dated to the period between reigns of Erishum I and Puzur Aszbur II — before the conquest of the Assyrian city of Ashur by the Amorite leader Shamshi-Addu I. After the hiatus of occupation at the Kanesh colony of Level Ic, which lasted for *ca.* 10–20 years after the destruction of *Kārum* II, a new colony of Level Ib developed during the reign of the Amorite king (Kuhrt 1995, pp. 81–91). Long distance trade was a system developed by merchants from Assyria where strong Hurrian influence was present in the beginning of the second millennium BCE. The system continued to flourish after the Amorite conqueror, Shamshi-Addu I, took the city of Ashur. For the purpose of this study, one should assume that many different ethnic elements contributed to the development of the new pottery in northern Mesopotamia, though it is impossible to match particular chang-

## Theories on the Origin of Habur Ware

Decades of studies and new archaeological discoveries have proved the limitations of the 'totalitarian theories' that postulated either migration (conquest) or internal development as a single causative factor. The advocates of the four mainstream theories pointed to some characteristic ceramic groups, which could affect the appearance and the character of Habur Ware.<sup>6</sup> I will focus only on the most important arguments for and against each of them.

### *Eastern Origin Theory*

The original theory, which was developed by the discoverer of Habur Ware, Mallowan, was based upon the observations of an uninterrupted tradition of making painted pottery in western Iran. Tepe Giyan on the Kerha River<sup>7</sup> and Godin Tepe were proposed as the sites, where the prototypes of Habur Ware had occurred (Fig. 1).

Further studies proved that the pottery of the earlier Giyan Stratum III (2500–1800 BCE) had no characteristic elements typical for Habur Ware, and that the pottery of the next stratum (Giyan II, 1800–1400 BC) showed little influence of a foreign element.<sup>8</sup> It was also observed<sup>9</sup> that there were close relations between pottery assemblages typical of the three sites of the area: Giyan II, Godin Tepe and the ceramics at Dinkha Tepe (some scholars, however, argued that ceramic assemblage from Giyan II and Godin III was different both in shape and decorative motifs from Dinkha painted pottery).<sup>10</sup> Stein noticed that Habur Ware predated part of Giyan II painted pottery.<sup>11</sup>

On the basis of archaeological data, one may conclude that the pottery of the three sites represents, at most, regional ceramic development. The potential affiliation of Giyan II pottery to Habur Ware, as opposite to the very first opinions, can be understood as resulting from copying decorative motifs of Habur painted ware by potters of Dyala–Kerha region, or as just limited and peripheral development of Habur Ware.<sup>12</sup> Chronological dis-

ing characteristics with definite groups (see discussion in Frane 1996, pp. 9–14 and Kramer-Hamlin 1971).

<sup>6</sup> For the review see, for example, Hamlin 1971, pp. 311–313; Oguchi 2001, pp. 71–87.

<sup>7</sup> See Mallowan 1937.

<sup>8</sup> Young 1969, pp. 228–239.

<sup>9</sup> Dyson 1973.

<sup>10</sup> Hamlin 1971, pp. 142, 144–145.

<sup>11</sup> Stein 1984, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Another solution is also possible, if one assumes a connection between Giyan pottery

cordance, stylistic and typological differences inclined most scholars to reject the theory of direct evolutionary linkage between Giyan II, Godin III, Dinkha pottery and Habur Ware.

In 2002, an article was published on pottery found at the site near the city of Hakkâri in the southeast corner of Turkey, close to the Iran-Iraq border.<sup>13</sup> The pottery was found in a rectangular chamber grave (labelled as M<sub>1</sub>). It has been recognised as typical Habur Ware (Fig. 2: 19–20). As well as hundreds of pottery fragments, the grave contained human remains (50 skulls and many bones) and other finds: two bronze daggers, silver, gold and bronze earrings, bronze hair ring, pins, bronze and carnelian beads, obsidian projectile points and bone spindle whorls.

The grave itself must have been in use for generations, if not centuries. Some pieces of pottery resemble ceramics produced in the area in the Iron Age; the majority of the pottery had figural decorations (ibex, snake or crescent). Little of the pottery belonged to the Van-Urmia and Habur Wares. These wares probably represent the oldest phases of the chamber grave.

Habur Ware from Hakkâri was wheel-made, well fired with fabric and slip in colours ranging from pink to cream. Just a few are lightly burnished. Most frequently used designs were bands painted horizontally on the shoulder and belly (Fig. 2: 20); one example had crosshatched triangles set between bands (Fig. 2: 19).

According to Özfirat, Habur Ware from Hakkâri stylistically and typologically resembles the earliest phase of the ware. There is no evidence to attest any relationship with the pottery of the adjacent Dinkhatepe. Özfirat clearly suggests that Habur Ware from grave M<sub>1</sub> probably came to the area as gifts from Syria where it originated. The very important fact here is that for the first time, Habur Ware was found together with Van-Urmia Ware, which suggests that the appearance of the latter should be dated to at least the beginning of the second millennium BCE.<sup>14</sup>

### *Trans-Caucasian Origin Theory*

It was suggested that painted Habur Ware derived from the painted pottery of the Malatya-Elazığ region of the Upper Euphratus (also called

and the Early Trans-Caucasian pottery horizon. In this situation, Giyan pottery would be indirectly related to Habur Ware through the fact that both Giyan Pottery and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery (from which, I think, Habur adopted geometric decoration) belonged to the same Early Trans-Caucasian pottery horizon.

<sup>13</sup> Özfirat 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Radiocarbon dates for Hakkâri grave are: 1885–1745 BC, 1955–1690 BC, 1950–1835 BC and 1020–1780 BC.



‘Painted Trans-Caucasian Pottery’; see **Fig. 2: 1–3**). According to Burney<sup>15</sup> the pottery was produced in this region between *ca.* 2200 and 2000 BCE. Another distinguished scholar, Catherine Marro,<sup>16</sup> suggested that the pottery appeared earlier — already present in EB II. The Painted Trans-Caucasian pottery and painted Habur Ware share a characteristic, decorative painted motif, which was applied on the upper parts of vessels’ bodies, rows of triangles with small dots among them.<sup>17</sup> Typologically speaking, however, the two groups of pottery have almost nothing in common.

The three following pottery groups should be set in the following chronological order: Painted Trans-Caucasian Pottery of Malatya- Elazığ region (beginning *ca.* 2200 BC or earlier), Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery (beginning *before* 2000 BC) and painted Habur Ware (appearing around 1950 BC or earlier). The theory of a Trans-Caucasian origin fails to explain the obvious stylistic similarities between the pottery of the Malatya- Elazığ region and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery.

The problem of the origin of painted pottery of Malatya- Elazığ region is still an unsolved question. Its appearance was regarded as, a change in the south-western part of the Early Trans-Caucasian cultural zone in the Early Trans-Caucasian III period.<sup>18</sup> Stylistic similarities between the two pottery groups — the pottery of the Malatya- Elazığ region and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery — are apparent. They might be two regional sub-groups, which belong to the greater family or horizon of painted pottery of the Early Trans-Caucasian Cultural Zone. It seems that the range of decorative styles in which we can include Painted Trans-Caucasian Pottery of Malatya-Elazığ region, Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery and painted Habur Ware doesn’t reach beyond Lake Urmia in Eastern Anatolia.

Painted pottery found in the area of Lake Van,<sup>19</sup> if we apply terminology used by Burney and Lang, can be included in the central part of the Early Trans-Caucasian Cultural Zone.<sup>20</sup> It displays motifs, however, which appear to be exclusively characteristic of this group (compositions of painted cross-hatched diamonds), but lacks motifs typical for western groups: hatched triangles or triglyph-metopic arrangement. These motifs seem to be limited

<sup>15</sup> Burney 1958, pp. 205–208.

<sup>16</sup> Marro 1997.

<sup>17</sup> An almost identical motif occurs on jars of Hassuna standard painted pottery found, for example, at Hassuna Level II–VI (see Lloyd and Safar 1945, fig. 2). This kind of pattern, which in fact is both simple to make and stylistically attractive, appears to be common in many periods in Mesopotamia, but almost always in connection with Anatolia.

<sup>18</sup> Burney and Lang 1971, p. 64; Burney 1977, p. 130.

<sup>19</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1984, here fig. 2: 4–9.

to the areas west of Lake Van. One may say that the pottery of Lake Van stylistically represents a similar 'concept' of decoration as the pottery of Malatya-Elazığ region. On the other hand, it is very different from all western groups. If we assume that this is not just a local development, it is then possible that the Lake Van region is the transitional area where at least two (western and eastern) cultural zones met. Yet it is impossible to investigate the problem further since this part of Anatolia is still an archaeological *terra incognita*.

If one acknowledges the stylistic similarity between Painted Trans-Caucasian and Painted Syro-Cilician pottery there are two possible scenarios in regard to the origin of Habur Ware:

- a. painted decoration of Habur Ware was adopted from the painted pottery of Malatya-Elazığ region; pottery which ceased to be produced *before* the *Kārum-Kanesh II* period
- b. the characteristic decorative pattern was taken over from Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery of which the appearance *predated* Habur Ware; adopted from the pottery group that represented a high level of craft-work and was still used in the region of Kizzuwatna during the *Kārum-Kanesh II* period.

The second scenario seems to be more probable. Either way, if one postulates relations between painted pottery of Malatya-Elazığ region and painted Habur Ware, the Painted Syro-Cilician pottery should be also taken into account as it was involved in the phenomenon.

### *Indigenous Origin Theory*

Some scholars present convincing arguments for an indigenous origin of painted Habur Ware. During the third millennium BCE, a painted variation of so-called 'ring burnished metallic ware' that was also called 'stone ware' appeared in Central Syria and the Middle Euphrates area (Fig. 3: 1–4).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The pottery, which is dated to the second millennium BC was obtained by the east Anatolian museums in the 1980s from excavations led in north-west Iran. Its chronology has not yet been precisely defined.

<sup>21</sup> Following Hrouda's view that early examples of Habur Ware also existed west of Habur River — for example, in the Balih River area (Hrouda 2001, p. 89). I incorporate pottery of the Middle Euphrates in the theory of a local origin (contrary to Oguchi 2001, p. 76, where he discusses the pottery in context of western origin theory).

The pottery was discovered in Taqba Dam area (such as at Tell Huera, where it was dated to the middle of the third millennium BCE). What appears to support the theory is that the band-painted pottery of the Middle Euphrates was often confused by Mallowan with Habur Ware, as it was extremely similar to its band-painted group. The third millennium band-painted pottery was found in Harran, Tell Huera, Tell Jidle (Levels 4 and 5), Selenkahiyhe (Phase II), Tell Hadidi (EB tombs), Tell Ahmar – Til Barsip (the ‘Hypogeum’ of the late third to early second millennium BCE), Hammam and Amarna (in graves), Tell Hariri-Mari (Ishtar temple, Level d), Tarsus (Early Bronze Age II, 2750/2700–2400 BCE) and Terqa.

In general, the pottery was dated to the period between the late Early Dynastic period and the end of Akkadian period.<sup>22</sup> Pottery, which was found in Harran was called ‘Early Habur Ware’ or ‘Eggshell Habur Ware’ and occurred in Phase ii of the deep sounding. The pottery is wheel-made, very thin (its thickness varies from 1 to 3 mm) and is very well fired. Its surface is grey to pink, self-slipped or washed. The neck and upper part of the vessel body is decorated with narrow bands of matt orange or red paint with spaced, spiral ring burnish on the surface. All examples that have been found are jars with everted rims, short straight necks and globular bodies.<sup>23</sup>

The other ‘indigenous candidate’ for the ancestor of Habur Ware is the so-called Eblaite band-painted pottery (Fig. 3: 5–16), which was found in the Royal Palace G of the EB IV period.<sup>24</sup> Jars that belong to this pottery group were frequently decorated with painted bands. According to Mazzoni, they anticipate the local Habur style.

The significant typological and stylistic similarities between Eblaite pottery and band-painted pottery of Middle Euphrates may indicate that the pottery of both regions belonged to the same ceramic horizon of ‘band-painted pottery’ of the end of third millennium BCE of Central Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Hamlin in her search for the origin of Habur Ware points to ‘egg-shell pottery’ (or ‘early Habur’) and painted pottery, which was found in Ishtar Temple D in Ašur, and concludes that they may have contributed to its typological make-up. She also admits that there were unpainted pottery types in northern Mesopotamia, which predated very similar painted equivalents associated with Habur Ware.<sup>25</sup> The unpainted predecessors typologically announce the appearance of painted Habur Ware (Fig. 5).

<sup>22</sup> Prag 1970; Kühne 1976; Oguchi 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Prag 1970, p. 84, fig. 8:43–44.

<sup>24</sup> Matthiae 1977, p. 97; Mazzoni 1994; 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Hamlin 1977, p. 313.

Stein maintains that Habur Ware originated in the course of indigenous North Mesopotamian development. According to her view, the transitional phase between third millennium BCE ancestors and Habur Ware represents pottery from Chagar Bazar (Level 1), Tell Billa (Stratum 4; Fig. 7: 2–3), Tell Taya (Level 4) and Tell al-Rimah (Area AS, Phase 3). Pottery at those sites has painted, incised and relief designs.<sup>26</sup> The theory of an indigenous origin of Habur Ware delimits the area where the phenomenon of typological and stylistic changes occurred to the Middle Euphrates and Habur River basin, isolating this region from the western part of the Middle East where another painted pottery appeared. In other words, indigenous development theory ignores the existence of Syro-Cilician painted pottery, which predated the transitional pottery mentioned above (*e.g.* Tell Billa 4 begins in late seventeenth century BCE); pottery that shows even more similarity to the geometric design, which characterises painted Habur Ware.

### *Syro-Cilician Origin Theory*

The idea that the development of Habur Ware had some connections with Syro-Cilician Painted Ware is not new.<sup>27</sup> Some scholars went even further and included painted Habur Ware within Syro-Cilician Painted Ware.<sup>28</sup> The theory of a western origin for Habur Ware was based upon the observation that there is a striking similarity between decorated motifs, which occur both on Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician painted pottery (Fig. 5). Along with the stylistic arguments, chronological issues also convinced some scholars to test the potential connections between the Syro-Cilician Painted Ware and painted Habur Ware. The appearance of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery predates significantly the introduction of Habur Ware and what is even more significant, it chronologically overlaps with Habur material. It also occurs in *Kārum*-Kanesh IV and III levels which predate Level II of the Assyrian colony.<sup>29</sup>

There is still no scholarly consensus regarding the chronology of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery. Garstang who excavated it at Mersin claimed it was in use between *ca.* 1950 and 1450 BCE,<sup>30</sup> Goldman, who led archaeo-

<sup>26</sup> Stein 1984, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example: Perkins 1954; Porada 1965.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Gerstenblith 1983, p. 63.

<sup>29</sup> According to Özgüç, *Kārum*-Kanesh (Levels IV and III) despite the lack of texts already present in the Assyrian colonies (Amiran 1968). Mellaart claims that the *kārum* was established already in the last quarter of the third millennium BCE, contemporary with the state of Ur III (Mellaart 1957).

<sup>30</sup> Garstang 1953.

logical excavations in neighbouring Tarsus region proposed dates of 2000–1600 BCE;<sup>31</sup> Braidwoods' dates are 2000–1800 BCE.<sup>32</sup>

Syro-Cilician painted pottery has been attested at: Tell Achana-Alalah (Levels XVII/XVI–VIII/VII), Tell Judeidah (periods VIII–VII, Amuq Phases K–L), Tarsus, Kazanlı, Mersin (Levels XI–IX), Kanesh-Kültepe (*Kārum* Levels IV and II), Tilmen Hüyük (Levels IIIa and IIIb), Tell Mardih-Ebla ('The Tomb of Princess', MB II A period), Hama (Period H), Tell Mishrife-Qatna (Tomb I), Tell Nebi Mend-Qadesh (MB II A level) and Ras Shamra-Ugarit (only one example). According to Seton-Williams, it also occurs at Chagar Bazar, Tell Billa, Nuzi and in Cyprus, at Aya Paraskevi.<sup>33</sup> There is, however, no certainty that examples from Mesopotamia are not pieces of Habur Ware (we should keep in mind that small fragments of the two wares can be easily confused, as often happened to Malloyan).

Syro-Cilician Painted Ware is usually monochrome-painted with very characteristic designs of hatched and cross-hatched triangles placed in rows and set between horizontal bands, with a triglyph-metopic arrangement on pedestalled bowls and 'hawk-eye' design under rims of jugs (Fig. 5). It was generally wheel-made, yet hand-made pieces have also been found. This particular technological aspect of Syro-Cilician Painted Ware — producing vessels without use of potter's wheel, fits more Aegean — Anatolian tradition than the Mesopotamian one. Most wheel-made examples of the ware have been found in Mersin.

Chronological argument and stylistic resemblance make the western origin theory a very probable one. In the opinion, however, of some scholars:

the few parallels between individual elements of design of the two pottery groups are not more than coincidental and differences in shape and design composition are too significant to claim that they are related.<sup>34</sup>

Below the author will face this view and present his own proposition for the origin of Habur Ware.

### **The Origin and Development of Habur Ware —Continuation of tradition and Changes caused by Acculturation**

#### *Shortcomings of the Former Theories*

The four main theories have something in common — they have been based upon the premise that painted Habur Ware appeared as an effect of

<sup>31</sup> Goldman 1956.

<sup>32</sup> Braidwood and Braidwood 1960.

<sup>33</sup> Seton-Williams 1953, p. 58.

either linear development or single-sided cultural acquisition. Both premises over simplify the process. It is impossible to determine where, when and in what circumstances Habur Ware originated and evolved, if we continue to search for unilateral development.

*Interaction Between Two Different Cultural Zones — Assumption*

In reality, painted Habur Ware probably originated as a result of two basic cultural developments that overlapped with each other. The painted pottery developed from the Early Bronze Age pottery horizon of Upper Mesopotamia and at some time, at the beginning of Middle Bronze Age, it was enhanced by some characteristic decorative motifs of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery. Thus the development of painted Habur Ware is an example of multidirectional cultural influence from outside and within northern Mesopotamia; acculturation and stylistic borrowings on one hand and cultural inertia on the other. Stylistic borrowings effected in adoption of Syro-Cilician decorative motifs, while inertia or tradition reflected in its typological makeup, prevented pottery of northern Mesopotamia from adopting some new types of vessels.

It has been assumed that typological makeup (shapes and types of pottery in a pottery repertoire) and decoration depend on two general factors: function and fashion. These factors sometimes may act contrary to each other. Function is conservative, inhibiting acculturation, as it is primarily dependent on traditional ways of preparing food and consumption that is on *modus operatio*. On the other hand, fashion facilitates the transfer of ideas and acculturation.

One may imagine the situation that two distinct pottery groups (covering two different cultural zones) and representing different typological sets, which match two different *moda operationis* may share similar decorative motifs. Styles of decoration, dependent strictly on the factor of fashion, can be easily transferred from one zone to another. This phenomenon doesn't have to be accompanied by the borrowing of certain types of vessels, as long as there was no adoption of *modus operatio* itself. This will especially hold true for pottery vessels that serve the specific function as libation vessels. In short, beer-drinking people will not start producing wine glasses (similar to those used by their neighbours), if they have not adopted the habit of drinking wine. This does not mean, however, that they will not adopt some sophisticated decorative motifs that occur on neighbours' wine glasses and put them on their beer jars. The conclusion is as follows. One may expect to find traces of stylistic borrowings between two pottery groups, even if they do not share common types of vessels.

At the beginning of the second millennium BCE, the difference between two distinct cultural spheres of the Near East was apparent. This difference was manifested in many spheres of culture, but for the purpose of the work, I will refer to two related aspects — traditional alcoholic beverages and traditional modes of consumption. The Levantine-Mediterranean zone was under strong influence of the Aegean world and Anatolia. In this warm and more humid littoral zone, rich in sun, water and good *terra rossa* soil, viticulture was popular and wine was the preferred sophisticated beverage, while the most popular and traditional alcoholic beverage of cereal-rich Mesopotamia was beer.

Obviously these preferences were reflected in the pottery typology of both zones. Pitchers, jugs and pedestalled bowls resembling classical Greek types — namely *kylikes* that were common along the Levantine coast at the beginning of the second millennium BCE and were most probably used for serving wine — are almost entirely unattested in Mesopotamia of that time. There between Euphrates and Tigris sipping beer through straws from large globular jars was the traditional form of giving charm to communal symposia. Painted ‘wine jars’ of Habur Ware (recognised as vessels for drinking wine by Mallowan) are in fact beer jars.

The difference in traditional ways of libation explains why there is such a big discrepancy between the typologies of Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery. Similarity of decorative motifs between the two pottery groups is unquestionable. But how and where were the decorative motifs adopted?

*What is Habur Ware? What is its Chronological and Geographic Distribution?*

Painted pottery, which is included in the group named ‘Habur Ware’ is rare. At Tell Leilan, for example, only *ca.* 7.6 per cent of the 3267 diagnostic sherds analysed were painted.<sup>35</sup> The term Habur Ware is thus misunderstanding, if it is used to mean ‘painted ware’. One must emphasise that only small percentage of the ware of the same fabric represents the painted group.<sup>36</sup> Hence it is more appropriate to use the term painted Habur Ware when referring to the decorated vessels.

The question of an absolute date for the appearance of Habur Ware and its origin has not been resolved. The date we refer to today was established by Mallowan on the basis of cuneiform texts of Yasmah-Addu, son of

<sup>34</sup> Stein 1984, p. 26.

<sup>35</sup> Frane 1996, p. 143.

<sup>36</sup> See Frane 1996, p. 144.

Shamshi-Addu I and ruler of Mari, which were found together with the earliest examples of Habur Ware in Level 1 of Chagar Bazar, in an ash deposit on the lowest floor.<sup>37</sup> The texts were found in building foundations lay above the graves containing Habur pottery. As we do not know how long the gap was between the construction of the graves and the erection of the building, the reign of Yasmah-Addu defines just *terminus ante* for the appearance of the ware.<sup>38</sup> Mallowan concluded that it was highly improbable that the pottery he found in the graves was the first phase of Habur Ware; he referred to it as to the *earliest known* Habur pottery.<sup>39</sup> According to his view, Habur pottery from Level 1 in Chagar Bazar represented its developed form (Fig. 7; Phases 2 and 3). The chronology has been strengthened by radiocarbon dates from Dinkha Tepe (Dinkha Tepe IV, between 2009–1748 BCE).<sup>40</sup>

According to Oguchi<sup>41</sup>, Tell al-Rimah Area AS, Phase 3, Tell Taya Level IV and Tell Jigan Area C, Trench G–4, Levels 3a–b (all dated between 1900 and ca. 1814 BCE according to middle chronology) represent the Habur Ware period and indicate the place where Habur Ware originated.

Hrouda, however, noticed that the cartographical classification method proved that the older category of Habur Ware also existed in the west, in the area of the Balih River.<sup>42</sup> As Frane concluded,<sup>43</sup> the early Habur Ware assemblage belonged to the greater family of usually unpainted pottery from western Syria, from the Balih and Euphrates Valleys. She viewed the painted decoration on Habur Ware as a local variant.

Stein, in her reference to Tell Billa (situated to the east of Tigris River), concluded that pottery of Stratum 4 appeared in the course of local development.<sup>44</sup> A jar presented here in Fig. 9: 1 belonging to the earlier Stratum 5 (Early Dynastic Period, ca. 2900–2700 BC), was used by Stein as a parallel to the Habur style.<sup>45</sup> It has little in common with the characteristic features of painted Habur Ware, in shape or decoration. On the other hand, two vessels of the next Stratum 4 have some features that are similar to the

<sup>37</sup> Mallowan 1947, p. 82.

<sup>38</sup> Professor Giorgio Buccellati from UCLA, who directed excavations at the site of Tell Mozan (ancient Urkesh, a Hurrian town in northern Mesopotamia) claims he found sherds with characteristic decoration resembling those on painted Habur Ware jars in the context of the Akkadian city!

<sup>39</sup> Mallowan 1947, pp. 82–83.

<sup>40</sup> Frane 1996, p. 135.

<sup>41</sup> Oguchi 2001, p. 71.

<sup>42</sup> Hrouda 2001, p. 89, *contra* Oguchi 2001.

<sup>43</sup> Frane 1996, p. iv.

<sup>44</sup> Stein 1984, p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> Stein 1984, pl. 1:23.



jars of painted Habur Ware, especially the globular band-painted jar (Fig. 9: 3), which is typologically like Habur Ware jars (e.g. Fig. 7: 15–16). Unfortunately because of the wide chronological frames, which have been set by Speiser (his Stratum 4 covers the so-called ‘Anatolian Period’, ca. 1900–1600 BCE), it is not possible to make further chronological comparisons.<sup>46</sup> Concerning shape and decoration, two specimens could be included in the Habur Ware assemblage of Phase 2 at Chagar Bazar, as examples of the eastern variation of the ware.

Later Stein concludes that painted bands and hatched and cross-hatched triangles, which are so typical of painted Habur Ware at Chagar Bazar reflect a change of technique — from a relief and incision to painting.<sup>47</sup> She compares Habur pottery of her Phase C (1700–1650 BC) with the pottery assemblage from Tepe Gawra, Stratum X. In her proposition, however, she fails to explain the origin of decorated Habur jars of earlier Phases A and B, for which no parallels have been found in the Tigris and Great Zab triangle (with the exception of the doubtful example from Tell Billa, Stratum 5 and Tepe Gawra, Stratum 5 which have been mentioned above).<sup>48</sup>

The data available today lead to the following conclusion. The Habur River basin should be still referred to as the motherland of the *developed* Habur Ware (here Phases 2 and 3). This, however, does not mean that the range of distribution of Habur Ware of the *earlier* phases (Phase 1, Fig. 7: 1–6) covers the same area. Prag’s Early Bronze Age ‘early Habur Ware’ or ‘eggshell Habur Ware’ can be included along with EB IV A2 band-painted pottery of Ebla in the ‘Early Bronze Age Band-Painted Pottery Horizon’, which covered the area of northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria. It is very likely that only one branch of this horizon transformed into Middle Bronze Age, developed Habur Ware. What was the background for this transformation?

According to Kramer there is an apparent correlation between the geographic concentration of Habur Ware and the expansion of an ‘Assyrian bureaucracy’ equivalent to a range of Assyrian merchants.<sup>49</sup> Habur Ware was an index of economic activity of the Assyrians. Yet there is no evidence for trade in vessels. No goods were shipped in painted Habur Ware jars.<sup>50</sup> The vessel was an equivalent of a ‘beer-mug’ not a ‘cask’. Thus its distribution doesn’t figure as a trade item, but rather as an indicator of political,

<sup>46</sup> Speiser 1933, p. 276.

<sup>47</sup> Stein 1984, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Stein 1984, pl. 1:23 and 24 respectively.

<sup>49</sup> Kramer 1971, p. 306.

<sup>50</sup> Franc 1996, p. 154.

economic and cultural influence.<sup>51</sup> Chronologically, the painted Habur Ware Period II covers the reign of Shamshi-Addu I and is contemporary with the revival of the Assyrian trade with Anatolia (*Karum-Kanesh Ib*).

### *The Relationship Between Early and Developed Habur Ware*

While examining the issue of the origin of painted Habur Ware, one should examine the relationship between three crucial pottery groups:

1. band-painted pottery of the Early Bronze Age (or early Eggshell Habur Ware),
2. early Middle Bronze band-painted pottery from Tell Rimah and Tell Jigan,
3. fully developed Middle Bronze Age Habur Ware (attested in Mal-lowan's Level I at Chagar Bazar).

### *Band-Painted Jars – Continuation of Tradition*

The pottery from Tell Rimah and Tell Jigan (**Fig. 7: 1–6**) could have develop locally from the Early Bronze Age, band-painted pottery horizon as its degenerated, crude continuation. This pottery has all of the functional and decorative features, which are characteristic of the fully developed Habur Ware. Most examples are globular jars with everted rims and straight necks. Band-painted decoration matches later Habur Ware design in regard to style, colour and arrangement, but what is its relation to early/eggshell Habur Ware? The pottery from Tell Rimah and Tell Jigan may be interpreted as a degenerated continuation of just a part of the Early Bronze Age band-painted pottery horizon to which early eggshell Habur Ware also belonged. If it really was a direct ancestor of the developed painted Habur Ware, it could be also referred to as a 'primitive' Habur Ware – a transitional stage between band-painted pottery of EB and 'classic' Habur Ware.

There are numerous arguments, which support the notion that painted Habur Ware was deeply rooted in the Early Bronze Age pottery tradition of northern Mesopotamia. Of great importance is the fact that the fully developed style typologically resembles unpainted Early Bronze Age pottery attested, for example, at Tell Brak (**Fig. 5**). As it has been mentioned above that only small percentage of the general pottery group called Habur Ware has painted decoration.<sup>52</sup> Typological and some stylistic similarities indeed are very convincing and point to indigenous origin of painted Habur Ware.

This is, however, just one of the two parents of the painted group within the ware.

### *The New Design Appears – Stylistic Borrowing*

Sometime, during the first half of the twentieth century BCE, a great stylistic change occurred. A new characteristic design came into fashion and spread across the northern Mesopotamia, a painted design consisting of a row or two rows of hatched or cross-hatched triangles set between horizontal bands (Figs 7: 7–9; 8: 1–3). Another new design that also had its premiere was the ‘triglyph-metopic’ arrangement, which consisted of crosses separated from each-other by vertical lines (Fig. 7: 10). This significant addition to the existing style of decoration most probable was an effect of adoption of characteristic motifs that were popular in regions west and north-west of Balih and Habur — in southern Anatolia and coastal Syria (Fig. 6). It is possible that the new design was adopted from Anatolian painted pottery. The carriers of the new fashion were perhaps the Assyrian merchants travelling within the network of *Karum* trade colonies (Fig. 21).

### *Two Marginal Interpretations*

There are two marginal views regarding the relationships between painted Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery. The similarities between the decorative motifs, which occur on the two pottery groups, has led some scholars to the conclusion that Habur Ware should be derived directly from Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery.<sup>51</sup> Later, in northern Mesopotamia, the pottery was supposed to acquire a new individual characteristic and remained relatively unchanged.

Other scholars still focus their attention on typological differences between Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician painted pottery and refer to them as two different and unrelated pottery styles. Stein in her dissertation rejected the theory of a Syro-Cilician origin for painted Habur Ware on the ground of dissimilarities in decorative patterns and the absence in the Habur Ware assemblage of particular pottery types (jugs and juglets):

The Syrian pottery of Alalakh, the Amuq and Cilicia is often compared with Habur Ware and has sometimes been regarded as its prototype. Chronolog-

<sup>51</sup> Frane 1996, p. 155.

<sup>52</sup> Frane 1996, p. 144.

<sup>53</sup> Gerstenblith 1983, p. 63.

ically, this association appears to be feasible as the end of Syrian painted pottery at Alalakh falls within 19<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (level VIII) and may, therefore, coincide with the beginning of the large Habur Ware storage jars in northern Mesopotamia (e.g. Chagar Bazar). Stylistically, however, there is little aside from individual motifs (cross-hatched triangles, double axes, X's) to support the theory of a direct lineage between the two wares. The characteristic trefoil-mouthed jugs and carinated bowls, the predominant triglyph-metopic arrangement of the decoration, and the use of animal motifs all clearly distinguish the Syrian painted pottery from the Habur Ware jars [...] the differences in the shapes and the composition of design between Habur Ware and Syrian painted pottery far outweigh the few parallels between individual elements of design which alone do not support a western origin for Habur Ware. Beyond the realm of stylistic comparisons is the fact that Syrian painted jugs and carinated bowls have not hitherto been found east of the Euphrates, nor have Habur Ware jars with geometric design been attested west of the Balikh river. This discrepancy between the distribution of the two painted wares in question is perhaps the most compelling argument against deriving one from the other or, as suggested by Hrouda and Deshayes, both from a third common source. Instead it appears that Syrian painted pottery and Habur Ware belong to entirely separate cultural spheres.<sup>54</sup>

Stein's view has been based upon a notion that cultural relationships must demonstrate an exchange of the complete spectrum of features (typology of pottery, decorations). Hence, a lack of exchange in characteristic pottery shapes between painted Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery is used as a proof of lack of direct association. Arguments, which have been presented above show that it is possible to expect that cultural relationships may result in only an exchange of decorations.

As shown in **Figures 15** and **16**, the two wares indeed share many decorative elements with only few exceptions: there are no examples of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery with just horizontal bands. This seems to be typical only for painted Habur Ware. Painted horizontal bands are, in this case, the continuation of the Early Bronze Age tradition in Syria. So far, only one Habur Ware sherd displaying a fragment of an animal motif has been published.<sup>55</sup> This motif is extremely rare in the earlier phases of development of painted Habur Ware, but it is more popular later in the second millennium BCE. Painted Habur Ware lacks the 'hawk-eye' motif. This characteristic decorative element, in the case of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery, occurs only under the spouts of globular jugs with high long necks. These zoomorphic features (shape of the neck, rim and spout) resemble a bird's neck and head.

<sup>54</sup> Stein 1984, pp. 21, 26.

<sup>55</sup> Oguchi 1997, p. 197, fig. 1:14.

Obviously there is just no place for such a motif on any type of pot, which is characteristic of Habur Ware.

The problem of whether painted Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery are related may have a simple solution. When a single motif was shared by both wares, its occurrence could be explained as merely coincidental. Simple motifs (for example hatched or cross-hatched triangles) did occur on earlier or later pottery groups of Ancient Near East. In the case of painted Habur Ware and Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery, however, similarities between *whole sets* of very composed motifs have been recorded (Figs 15, 16) that cannot be explained as purely coincidental. Furthermore, these geometric decorative motifs on Habur Ware appeared during times of intensive trade contacts with Anatolia.

The final effect (that is the character of the transferred motif) becomes an amalgamation of foreign and local elements. The resulting hybrid design will always differ from the original. The stylistic differences between geometric motifs of Habur Ware and those on Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery are examples of this very phenomenon.

The function of the vessels in the consumption of (presumably) alcoholic beverages must also be taken into consideration. To reiterate, painted pots which belong to the Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery repertoire were probably used for serving, mixing with water, pouring and drinking wine while Habur jars were presumably used as containers for beer which was sipped through straws.

At the beginning of the second millennium BCE the two cultural spheres met, but the very typological differences that persisted are the best proof that the people of the two cultures didn't exchange their habits. People who lived in northern Mesopotamia maintained local beer-drinking tradition most probably because wine was simply extremely expensive; this we know from written sources.

#### *An Analysis of Decorative Motifs of the Painted Wares*

According to the assumption made above, in the search for stylistic affiliations and cultural exchange with the painted group of Habur Ware, one should focus on groups of motifs that represent most characteristic and complex set of elements, which may be used as diagnostic features (with decorative motifs depicted in Figs 15, 16).

Decorative motifs, which occur on painted pottery of the Levant and northern Mesopotamia in the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age can be divided into six main thematic groups as follows.

### Group 1. Painted Horizontal Bands

Painted horizontal bands characterise exclusively Habur Ware (Figs 7, 8), they do not occur on Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery (Fig. 6). In Palestine painted bands characterise Syrian jars of the so-called Levantine Painted Ware (Fig. 11). The technique of making band-painted jars of Habur Ware and Syrian jars has undoubtedly roots in the Early Bronze Age ceramic tradition of Syria and northern Mesopotamia (Fig. 3). In the case of both wares, potters used quite an attractive and similar palette of colours. The background is light yellowish or pale-brown while motifs are painted with red to brown and black. Bands were painted on upper parts of the bodies (Habur Ware – Fig. 7: 1–3, 11–15, 17–19, 21; 8: 5–10; Levantine Painted Ware – Fig. 11: 1, 2, 5–8). The characteristic feature of band-painted jars of Habur Ware are wide painted bands (much wider than those on shoulders) which cover the rim and outer surface of the jar's neck; in some cases bands go inside the rim. Syrian jars lack this feature. It seems that this thematic group, which at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age expanded over Syria, northern Mesopotamia and into Palestine represents a trend for decorating pots with bands painted with brushes while the vessel was turning on the potter's wheel. An interesting jar in Fig. 8: 11 is an exuberant example of the technique.

### Group 2. Sequences of Geometric Motifs Painted between Two Horizontal Bands

- a. One pattern consists of groups of parallel vertical or oblique lines set between horizontal bands; between each group an empty space is left. The pattern with its repeating sequence of groups of lines and spaces is the simplest example of the 'triglyph-metopic' arrangement. This motif occurs exclusively on Syro-Cilician pedestalled bowls (Fig. 7: 11–15).
- b. A more sophisticated example of the triglyph-metopic pattern that is a hallmark of Syro-Cilician painted pottery comprises groups of 'Xs' or double axe motifs set between horizontal lines and divided by empty spaces. This design occurs on jars with handles and on pedestalled bowls of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery (Fig. 6: 8–10, 17–20). A variation of this decorative motif was found on one jar from Chagar Bazar (Fig. 8: 10).

### Group 3. Strokes Painted on Rims and Edges of Handles

A motif of vertical strokes on rims and handles was popular both in northern Mesopotamia and Levant. On Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery, the decoration of handles resembles a herring-bone pattern.

#### Group 4. Zoomorphic Motif of a 'Hawk Eye'

The hawk-eye motif occurs on a distinctive typological group of jugs with long necks in the Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery repertoire and on jugs, which belong to Levantine Painted Ware (the latter presumably are functional and stylistic copies of the Syro-Cilician original). As noted above, the shape of a typical Syro-Cilician jug (*e.g.* **Fig. 6: 1, 3, 6**) in its form resemble a bird (goose or a swan) with its large body, long neck and spout in the place of a bird's beak. Hence the 'hawk-eye' motif, which always occurs just below the rim should be viewed in this context as a part of a symbolic representation of a bird.

#### Group 5. Animal Motifs

Animal motifs are rare on Habur Ware; when they do occur, it is in the latter phases of development of the ware and they appear as stylistic adoptions from other pottery groups. The motifs occasionally do feature on jugs, which belong to Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery (**Fig. 6: 1**).

#### Group 6. Geometric Design of Triangles and Horizontal Bands

The pattern consists of a single row of hatched or cross-hatched triangles set between horizontal bands. It is a composed and very characteristic design and, as such, it can be most useful as a diagnostic element, which marks cultural influence (*i.e.* the diffusion of a fashionable design). It is typical for Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery where painted triangles are usually set in groups of two to four, with an interval of free space (**Fig. 6: 3**) or some other motif (**Fig. 6: 1**, a goat and a dot; **Fig. 6: 2**, an 'X'). It seems that arranging decorative motifs as alternate sections (in 'triglyph-metopic' manner) is a very characteristic feature of Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery. In the case of Habur Ware triangles are always arranged continuously with no spaces left between (the exception is a jar, **Fig. 8: 4**). In some examples, spaces between triangles are filled with a single dot (**Fig. 7: 7–9**). The latter design also characterises some jars of Malatya-Elazığ painted pottery.

A more complex variation of the design described above is an arrangement, which consists of two rows of hatched or cross-hatched triangles set between a number of horizontal bands. In the case of Syro-Cilician painted pottery, it occurs both on jugs and jars (**Fig. 6: 1–2, 21**). The design, which occurs on jars of painted Habur Ware is almost identical (**Fig. 8: 3–4**). On Levantine Painted Pottery, the arrangement of two rows of cross-hatched diamonds is an equivalent of the original design (**Fig. 10: 7, 12**).

The more complex a design is, the less likely it is to be an independent invention or coincidence. Among the six thematic groups presented above

the most complex designs is represented by the Group 6. The design is so characteristic and complex that it is simply improbable that it appeared on two contemporary pottery wares (that were used by peoples who maintained cultural contacts) as a result of independent invention. The two wares are stylistically related. Chronological sequence shows the direction of the borrowing — from the west to North Jazira. But where and when did the users of Habur Ware first meet the new fashionable design? The most probable places of adoption were the trade centres established between northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia (see map, Fig. 21). Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery has been attested at *Karum*-Kanesh in Levels IV and III, which may have already represented a trade centre by the beginning of the second millennium BCE. Merchants coming from the Habur River basin had enough time and opportunity to observe painted pottery of Anatolia and to transfer some of the motifs to their homeland. Habur Ware appears in *Karum*-Kanesh in Levels II and Ib.

Despite the cultural contacts, both wares remained fundamentally different. Why are jugs, pitchers or pedestalled bowls absent from Habur Ware assemblage? Functional analysis of painted pottery of both wares may help us answer this question.

### *Functional Analysis of Painted Habur Ware Jars*

Mallowan considered that Habur Ware consists largely of vessels intended to carry liquids.<sup>56</sup> He referred to storage jars with wide mouth, high neck, flat base, and globular body. The type, without detailed functional analysis, has been arbitrarily labelled as a wine jar used for drinking wine through reed straws. In subsequent studies, scholars never challenged Mallowan's view and with no hesitation they have continued to supply this definition.<sup>57</sup> Rather than wine, I propose that it was *beer* that was imbibed through reed straws, that we should dispense with the term 'Habur wine jars'. The functional difference results from significant differences in diet and customs between the two cultural zones. The proposed interpretation has been based upon textual, archaeological and iconographic evidence.

Production and quality of beer that was consumed in the beginning of the second millennium BCE differed considerably from the beverage we know today, which is made of barley or wheat. In Mesopotamia, it was a very important supplement of everyday diet. For instance, in Sumer up to

<sup>56</sup> Mallowan 1937, pp. 102–104.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Gerstenblith 1983, p. 61.



40% of cultivated grain was used to produce beer. It stands to reason that beer was most popular in regions that were rich in cereals — Egypt and Mesopotamia. There is much less evidence for beer consumption in littoral sphere of the west Mediterranean. The beverage was also used for medical purposes, for example, beer mixed with date pits and fruit of the sycamore tree was used against intestinal parasites. The process of beer production was labour intensive and time consuming and required many stages of production.<sup>58</sup>

Beer was often consumed with fruits (usually dates), which considerably improved its taste (see, for example, a drawing from a seal found at Tell Asmar (Fig. 13: 1) showing a beer jar, straws and probably fruits). The beverage, which had a tendency to turn sour, had to be consumed shortly after production; it couldn't be stored for long periods of time. Beer had to be strained, because remains of chaff and straw floated on the surface. Unlike wine, which was filtered, beer was strained by means of straws and was sipped directly from a jar. Of course only conical perforated metal tips of straws survived in the archaeological record — straws as organic matter decomposed. Beer was consumed on many occasions, at cultic ceremonies and at feasts. Particularly large amounts of beer were drunk in temples during ceremonial libations and in palaces during royal banquets. The beverage was also sipped in taverns and private houses. The daily allowance in Sumer was: *ca.* 1 litre for a worker, *ca.* 2 litres for low-ranking official, 3 litres for higher officials and women in the royal court and 5 litres per day for high ranking officials.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Phases of beer production (Hartman and Oppenheim 1950):

1. grains were steeped in water for two or three days,
2. straining off the water, malt was obtained,
3. heaps of malt were left to stand for 24 hours (the process of germination started; enzymes released at this stage converted the core to starch; and then some starch to sugar),
4. the process was stopped by roasting the grains and drying them in the sun,
5. dry malt was ground and mixed with spices (which determined the desired taste of beer),
6. the mixture was formed into loaves,
7. loaves were baked in low temperature (*ca.* 50°C),
8. crushed loaves were soaked in a vat of water — initiating fermentation,
9. several days later the liquid dripped through the holes at the bottom of the vat into a container,
10. in the container fermentation continued for another 3 or 4 days (the result of the process was thick syrup with alcohol content of *ca.* 6–8%),
11. chaff was removed and the drink poured to storage or transport vessels.

<sup>59</sup> Dayagi-Mendels 1999.

### *Textual Evidence for Wine Trade*

According to the royal correspondence, which was found in the archives of ancient city of Mari (Tell Hariri), wine was a rare and an expensive commodity. This information alone contradicts the great number of excavated 'wine' jars. According to the Mari texts among many items exported from Syria-Palestine (Aleppo, Qatna, Byblos and Hazor) to Mari and further east to Mesopotamia were foodstuffs: wheat, olive oil, wine and honey. It is difficult though to define whether honey mentioned in Mari texts was a syrup made of figs or dates or honey produced by bees.<sup>60</sup> Text 75 of the Mari Archives (*ARMT* 24) mentions messengers from Hazor, Babylon and Yamhad who were engaged in the shipment of wine.<sup>61</sup> The text speaks of the delivery of three (only!) jars of wine to the royal wine cellar at the palace.<sup>62</sup> Another three letters of king Zimrilim, which were sent to his wife Šibtu (nos 131, 132, 133), deal with shipment of wine to the palace of Mari, through the palace to another destination. In the case of the first two letters, wine was sent by Hammurabi of Yamhad. One of the letters contains a message: "five jars of wine has sent Hammurabi, the son of Yarimlim, for the house of the wine jars (palace wine cellar)". Letter 131 speaks of a certain type of wine called *karānum sāmum* (red wine) which was so expensive that Zimrilim asked his wife to watch personally over the filling of wine jars before handing them over to Bahdilim, who was in charge of the palace cellar. In letter 133, Zimrilim asks his wife to watch over similar dispatch. This time the palace of Habmmurabi of Babylon was the destination of shipment.<sup>63</sup>

The correspondence dates to the times when trade between the Levant and Mesopotamia was already well established and flourished. Nonetheless wine appears to be rare at this time, expensive and a premium luxury item. The situation must have been similar or even greater in the Habur River basin, in Chagar Bazar or Shubat Enlil. If we compare textual evidence with archaeological data, we come to the conclusion that there is simply not enough wine to fill all of the Habur 'wine' jars.

### *Archaeological Evidence*

Bronze and copper perforated cone tips (Fig. 14: 3–7), which were used as beer strainers attached to straws have been found in Palestine at Tell el-

<sup>60</sup> Malamat 1998, pp. 49–50.

<sup>61</sup> Talon 1985.

<sup>62</sup> Malamat 1998, p. 43.

<sup>63</sup> Malamat 1998, pp. 185–186.

Ajjul,<sup>64</sup> Megiddo<sup>65</sup> and Gezer.<sup>66</sup> Implements made of bone (identified as poor men's strainers) have been found at Sasa and Gesher,<sup>67</sup> Tell Kabri,<sup>68</sup> Tel Qiri<sup>69</sup> and Megiddo.<sup>70</sup> In Syria and Mesopotamia, metal perforated tips have been found in Alalakh,<sup>71</sup> Meskene-Emar,<sup>72</sup> Chagar Bazar,<sup>73</sup> Baghouz cemetery<sup>74</sup> and Nippur.<sup>75</sup>

Bone implements from Gesher have been found in grave in a clear context, inside a jar, which was placed close to the abdomen of the deceased.<sup>76</sup> The jar typologically resembles Habur Ware (e.g. Fig. 7: 16). The second vessel found in the grave was a jug that was placed close to the head of the buried. Many of the strainers reported by Mallowan were found inside jars, thus we can assume that both in Mesopotamian and in Palestinian perforated tips were found *in situ*, as parts of drinking sets. What is interesting is that the majority of metal or bone strainers, which have been reported from the Near East date to Middle Bronze II. Apparently beer was extremely popular among Amorites.

The capacity of Habur Ware jars more or less matches textual data regarding daily allowance of beer that we have for Sumer. One can assume that the daily doses didn't change much in the beginning of the second millennium BCE.<sup>77</sup> The capacity of Habur jars varies from ca. 0.5 litre (Fig. 7: 11) to ca. 5 litres (Fig. 8: 1–2). The biggest jars probably were used as fixed containers; the content had to be refilled by the means of other smaller vessels. A jar in Fig. 9: 4 was found in Nuzi in the context of the Temple F. Its unusual height (62 cm) and capacity reveal its function; it was most probably a stationary beer vessel used for ceremonial libations by a group of priests.

Habur jars have no handles and their lower parts were usually not decorated; these aspects hint at their function as fixed vessels usually placed on or near the floor with the lower part of a vessel not visible for users.

<sup>64</sup> Petrie 1934, pl. xxxii: 423.

<sup>65</sup> Loud 1948, pl. 190:14.

<sup>66</sup> Macalister 1912, p. 44.

<sup>67</sup> Maeir and Garfinkel 1992.

<sup>68</sup> Kishon and Hellwing 1990, p. 49, fig. 23:3.

<sup>69</sup> Ben Tor, *et al.* 1987, p. 70.

<sup>70</sup> Loud 1948, pl. 286:4.

<sup>71</sup> Wooley 1955, pp. 218, 284, pl. lxxxiii: at/8/26.

<sup>72</sup> Beyer 1982, p. 119, fig. 1.

<sup>73</sup> Mallowan 1936, p. 28; 1937, p. 99.

<sup>74</sup> Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, pp. 51–52.

<sup>75</sup> Gibson 1988–1989, pp. 13–14.

<sup>76</sup> Maeir and Garfinkel 1992, fig. 9.

*Iconographic Evidence*

The rich source for studying the problem of consumption of alcoholic beverages in Mesopotamia are cylinder seals and their impressions, terracotta plaques and painted vases (Figs 13; 14: 1–2).

Representations of banquets and feasts are common scenes on Early Dynastic and Akkadian cylinder seals. Communal consumption of beer was a very important social activity at these times. The majority of scenes show two people drinking through straws from the same jar. The number of individuals drinking from one jar of course could be higher. On some seals we can see four or five straws protruding from a jar. Communal drinking through straws has continued into modern times as Figure 14: 8, portraying men of the Tiriki tribe of Kenya, clearly shows.

Despite the small scale of the presentations and obvious simplification of a picture we can define an overall characteristic of jars, which were used during libations. The vessels are capacious, usually oval with high necks and wide mouths. Some stand by themselves, some have pointed bases and require pot-stands. All are handleless, except for one Egyptian example, which must be excluded as belonging to a different cultural sphere (Fig. 12: 2). On one Early Dynastic cylinder seal (Fig. 12: 3), we see men drinking through straws and in the lower register — two others are carrying a large vessel in a basket or net hanging on a stake. A terracotta plaque presented in Fig. 12: 6 shows a couple drinking beer from a large jar and having sexual intercourse at the same time. Some scenes show seated people drinking through straws and servants who add some ingredients or refill the standing vessel (Fig. 13: 6–7).

We do not have in our possession any iconographic evidence from late third–early second millennia BCE of Mesopotamia, which we could, with no doubt, relate to the consumption of wine. Most probable it's because wine was so rare and luxury product at this time. Wine was reserved for rare occasions, available only for gods, kings and high officials. Comparative scenes are found on Anatolian seal impressions from Kültepe-Kanesh from the Assyrian colony period. Examples in Fig. 2: 17 are fragments of Cappadocian seal impressions, with scenes of adoration of 'higher' gods by 'lower' gods, as well as humans. The gods are offered various alcoholic beverages, incense and livestock. For the purpose of this study, we will focus on the typology and functional interpretation of the vessels, which were used during cultic ceremonies.

Scenes in which drinking vessels are represented in their functional context can be divided into four categories:

1. Scenes in which a god is being offered libation. The libation is being poured from a spouted jug or juglet into a goblet held by the god.
2. Scenes of a god being offered a libation that is poured into a goblet from a spouted jar or 'teapot'.
3. Scenes in which, in addition to libation poured into a goblet, there is a large jar resting on a floor or on a pot-stand with a straw (or straws) protruding from it.
4. Scenes of a seated god holding a straw protruding from a jar, which is standing on a floor or a pot-stand.

Pottery vessels, which we can define from these impressions, have their parallels in ceramic assemblages of Kültepe-Kanesh IV-III<sup>78</sup> and they also have their typological equivalents in Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery assemblage of the same period. The latter has been found in Kültepe-Kanesh of Levels IV – II.

At the beginning of the second millennium BCE, the land of Kiz-zuwatna (Tarsus and Mersin) and Kültepe-Kanesh most probably belonged to the same cultural sphere with similar drinking customs.

We find at Kültepe-Kanesh II pouring vessels such as: jugs or juglets and spouted jars or teapots, small vessels which are being held in hands — goblets or cups — and large jars standing directly on the floor or on pot-stands with drinking straws protruding from their interiors. Presumably the two different manners of drinking the libation (through a straw or from a goblet that is refilled by a servant) refer to two different kinds of alcoholic beverages.

A very characteristic type of a pot used to pour a libation into a goblet or a cup held by a god is a beaked jug or teapot. Its elongated beak enabled precise filling of a cup or a goblet. Beaked jugs had no strainer; liquid, which it contained was clear without any solid ingredients like chaff or other additions.

Some teapots found at Kültepe-Kanesh did have strainers where spouts joined the shoulder<sup>79</sup>, but most lacked such a device.<sup>80</sup>

Jugs (or pitchers) and tea pots (or their close functional equivalents) are continuing to be found at numerous archaeological sites from Anatolia to

<sup>77</sup> In a tomb of the Sumerian princess, Pu-Abu, in Early Dynastic Ur, a silver jar and golden drinking tube have been found. The capacity of the jar was an exact equivalent of her daily ration of beer (Zettler and Horne 1998, p. 139, fig. 85–116).

<sup>78</sup> Emre 1989.

<sup>79</sup> Emre 1989, fig. AI: 13.

<sup>80</sup> Emre 1989, fig. AI: 3, 9–12.

southern Levant dated to the beginning of second millennium BCE. They occur in the areas where specific manner of consumption was common and where wine was popular. On the other hand, jugs or pitchers don't appear in North Mesopotamian ceramic assemblage, while tea pots are very rare. There in the land of wheat and barley imported grape wine (red wine) was still a luxury good and traditional beverage — beer was preferred.

Gods that were worshipped by inhabitants of Kültepe-Kanesh were offered various beverages, presumably alcoholic. From the iconographic evidence it appears that one of them was beer. Shape, dimensions and location (on floors) of jars, which can be found on the impressions match the iconographic evidence from Mesopotamian Early Dynastic and Akkadian seals. It is very plausible then that functional identification of these vessels as beer jars is correct.<sup>81</sup>

## Conclusion

Painted Habur Ware is rooted in band-painted pottery tradition of Syria and northern Mesopotamia of the end of the Early Bronze Age. Certain shapes, which are characteristic of the ware appeared already in late third millennium BCE (e.g. unpainted pottery of Tel Brak, see Fig. 4) or as painted 'egg-shell Habur Ware' of the Balih River area (Fig. 3: 1–4). The phenomena accompanied the turn of millennia occurring at the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur. It was a time of coagulation of Amorite city-states, social and political unrest and migrations, as well as the development of a new system of *Karum* trade contacts between northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia; all had their impact on the spread of ideas throughout the western part of the Fertile Crescent. The appearance and development of Habur Ware that at first was a continuation of EB traditional forms and decorations should be understood in the context of these great changes. At certain point in time (which cannot be defined precisely), the developing painted Habur Ware was affected by a new cultural stimulus — it was enhanced by decorative motifs hitherto popular in the areas to the north-west of the Habur River. The nexus of the exchange was most probably the Old Assyrian trade system or *Karum*-Kanesh trade centre itself.

The appearance and development of Habur Ware was a multidirectional phenomenon. Pairs of factors that are contradictory influenced it: tradition and continuity overlapping with cultural borrowings and change.

<sup>81</sup> Here the label 'hydria' (a jar used for mixing wine with water) was used by Özgüç in reference to the general shape and dimensions of those jars rather than to their function.

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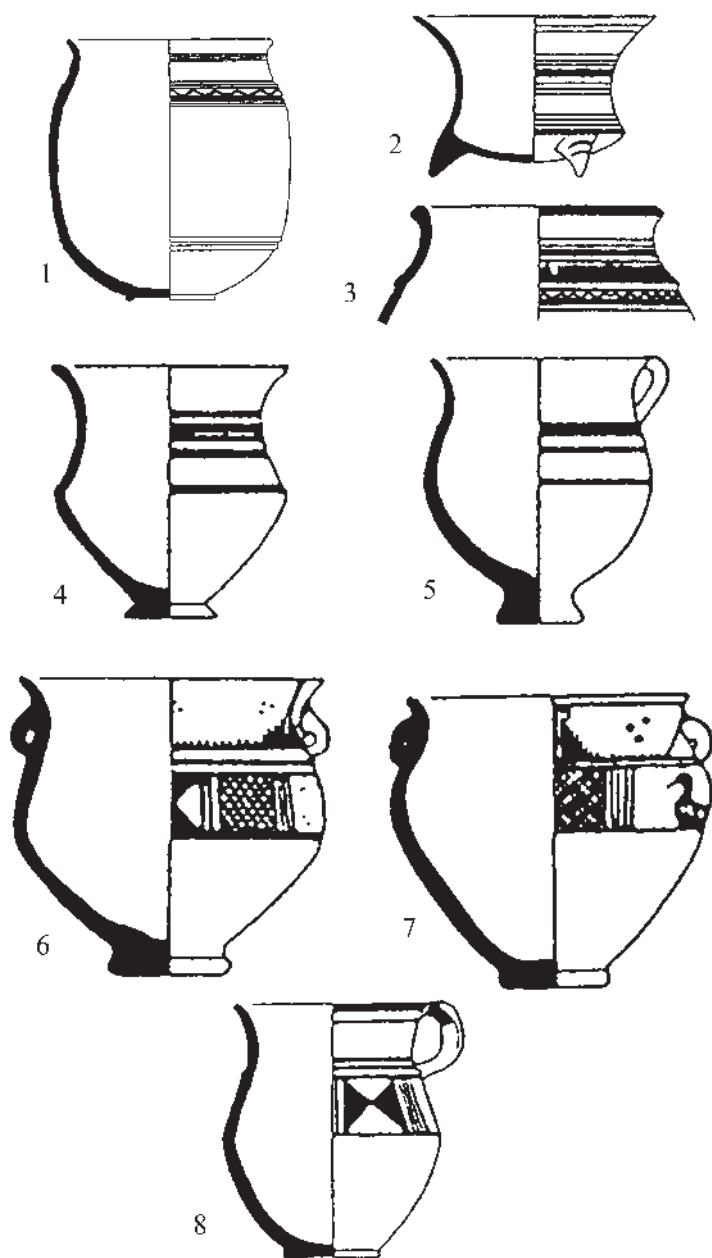


Fig. 1: 'Giyān' painted pottery from Godin Tepe (1–3 Giyan III, 4–9 Giyan II), nos 1–8, after Henrickson 1986, as follows: 1. fig. 15:3, h. 37 cm; 2. fig. 16:1, h. 10 cm; 3. fig. 14:17, d. 16 cm; 4. fig. 17:10, h. 9.5 cm; 5. fig. 17:11, h. 10.5 cm; 6. fig. 17:4, h. 11 cm; 7. fig. 17:2, h. 9 cm; 8. fig. 17:6, h. 12 cm.

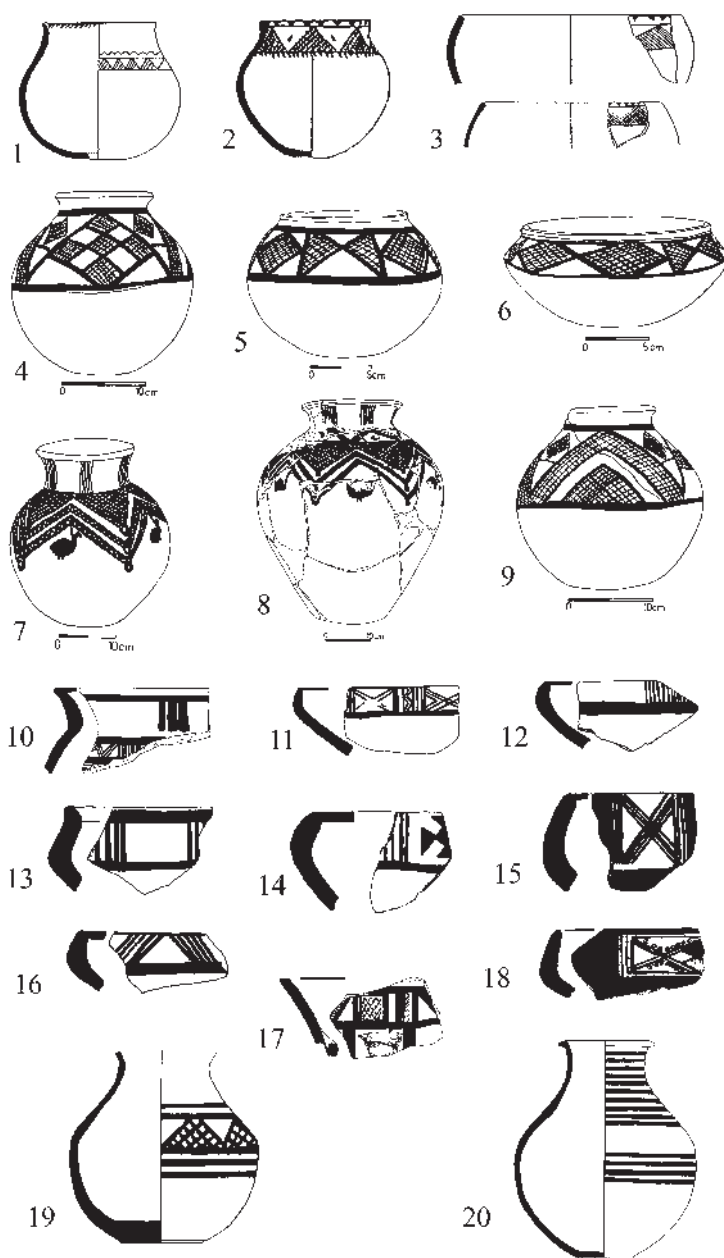


Fig. 2: 'Early Trans-Caucasian'/'Malatya-Elazığ' painted pottery (1-3), second millennium painted pottery of the Van Lake Basin (4-9), painted pottery from Kültepe-Kanesh IV-III (10-17) and Habur Ware from Hakkari (19-20): 1. Marro 1997, pl. 24:J53 v5 (Tepecik), h. 23 cm (EB II); 2. *ibid.*, pl. 11:P13 v1 (Norsuntepe), h. 10 cm (EB III); 3. Top: *ibid.*, pl. 7:P11 v3 (Tepecik), Bottom: *ibid.*, pl. 8:P11 v5 (Tepecik), d. 32, 26 cm; nos 4-9, after Çilingiroğlu 1984, as follows: 4. fig. 10; 5. fig. 11; 6. fig. 12; 7. fig. 5; 8. fig. 6; 9. fig. 9; nos 10-18, after Emre 1989 as follows: 10. fig. B II. 30 (h. 8.5 cm), (fig. 10-15, Level IV, 16-18 Level III); 11. fig. B II. 11 (h. 6 cm); 12. fig. B II. 13 (h. 4 cm); 13. fig. B II. 17 (h. 5 cm); 14. fig. B II. 10 (h. 5 cm); 15. fig. B II. 1 (h. 4 cm); 16. fig. B II. 48 (h. 3 cm); 17. fig. B II. 59 (h. 12 cm); 18. fig. B II. 49 (h. 4.5 cm); nos 19-20, after Özfirat 2002: 19. fig. 2 (h. 16 cm); 20. fig. 4 (h. 32 cm).

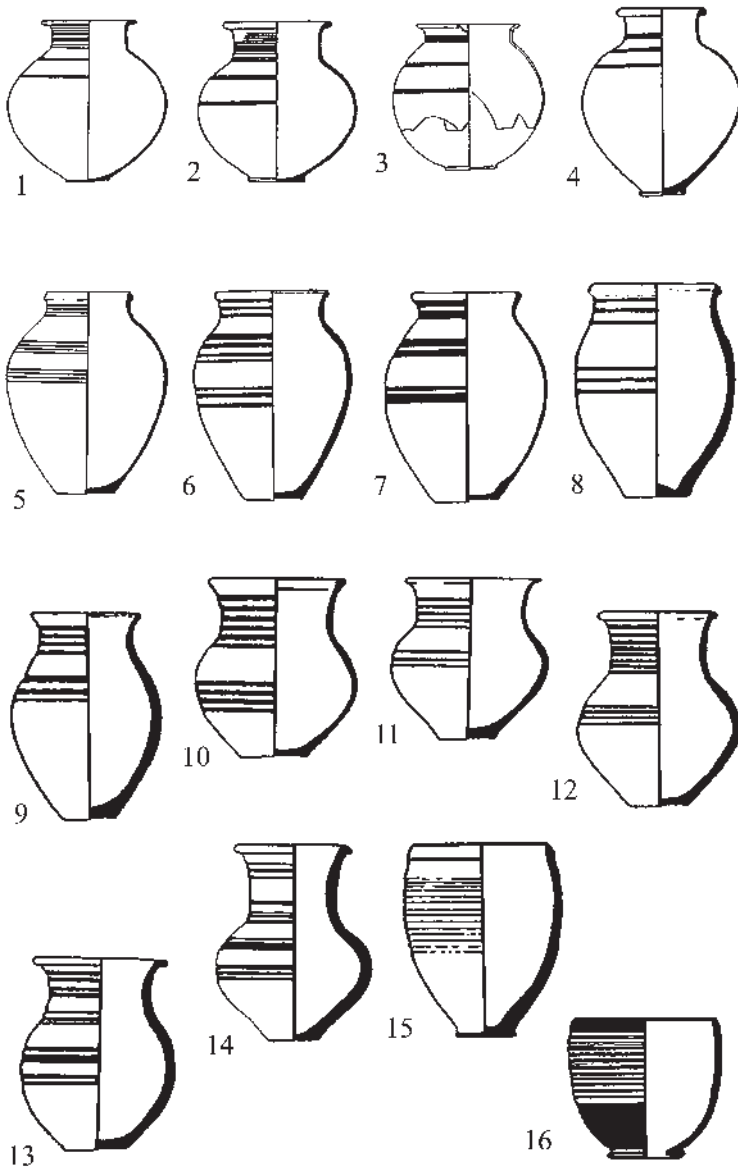


Fig. 3: Third millennium BCE band-painted pottery of middle Euphrates area: nos 1–2, after Dornemann 1977: 1. fig. 13:26. Tell Hadidi, h. 18.5 cm; 2. fig. 13:17. Tell Hadidi, h. 15.5 cm; 3. Mallowan 1946, fig. 11:9. Tell Jidle, h. 16 cm; 4. Dornemann 1977, fig. 13:30, Tell Hadidi, h. 17.5 cm. EB IV A2 band-painted pottery from Tell Mardih-Ebla: 5. after Mazzoni 1994, fig. 6:2, h. 22 cm; 6. Mazzoni 2002, pl. XXXVIII:90, h. 16 cm; 7. Mazzoni 1994, fig. 4:8, h. 14 cm; 8. Mazzoni 2002, pl. XXXVIII:91, h. 11 cm; nos 9–13, after Mazzoni 1994 as follows: 9. fig. 4:2, h. 10.5 cm; 10. fig. 5:1, h. 11.5 cm; 11. fig. 4:4, h. 10.5 cm; 12. fig. 5:2, h. 12 cm; 13. fig. 5:4, 11.5 cm; nos 14–16, after Mazzoni 2002 as follows: 14. pl. XXXVIII:87, h. 12 cm; 15. pl. XXXVIII:83, h. 10 cm; 16. pl. XXXVIII:82, h. 9 cm.

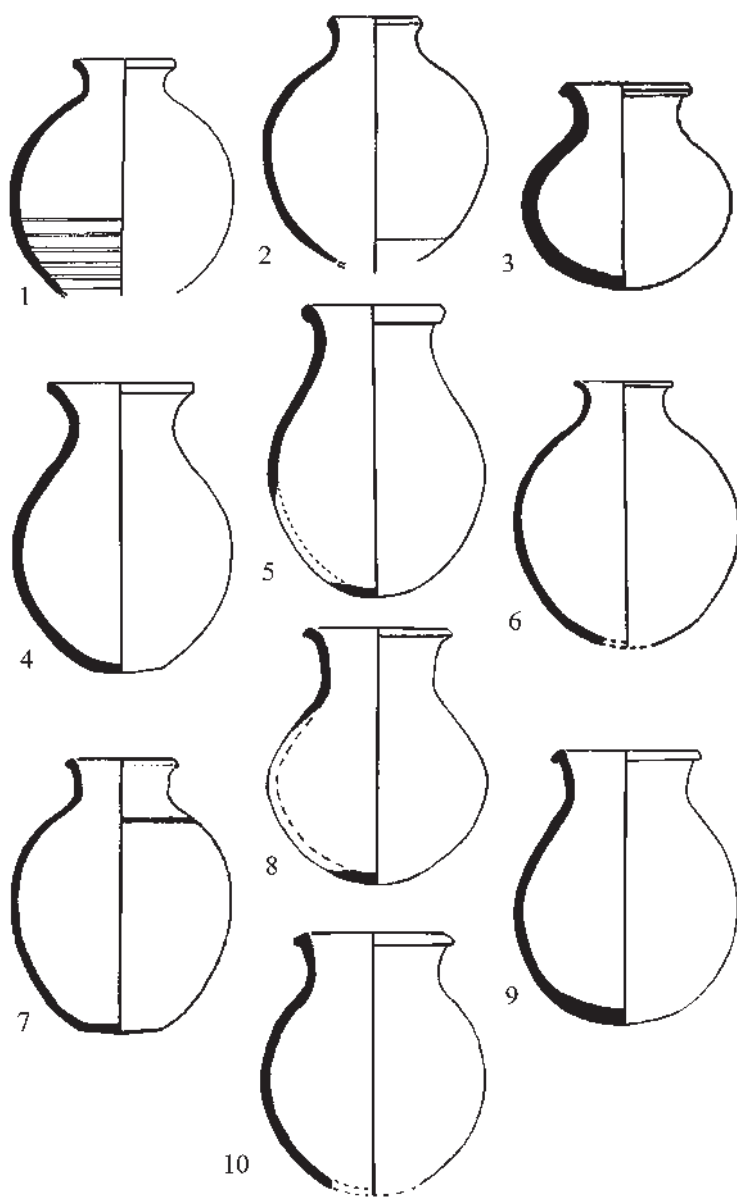


Fig 4: Unpainted typological prototypes of Habur jars from Tell Brak; nos 1–4, Tell Brak, Late IIIrd Dynastic Period, jar from post-Agade floor, after Oates J. 1982 as follows: 1. fig. 6:97, h. 34 cm; 2. fig. 5:74, h. 33 cm; 3. fig. 1:1, h. 8 cm; 4. fig. 4:59, h. 18 cm; nos 5–10, Tell Brak, excavations Vol. II, Nagar in third millennium BC, after Oates and Oates 2001 as follows: 5. p. 471:848, h. 23.2 cm; 6. p. 469:827, h. 33.5 cm; 7. p. 429:340, h. 27.7 cm; 8. p. 413:185, h. 12.3 cm; 9. p. 409:134, h. 20.9 cm; 10. p. 409:135, h. 16.2 cm.

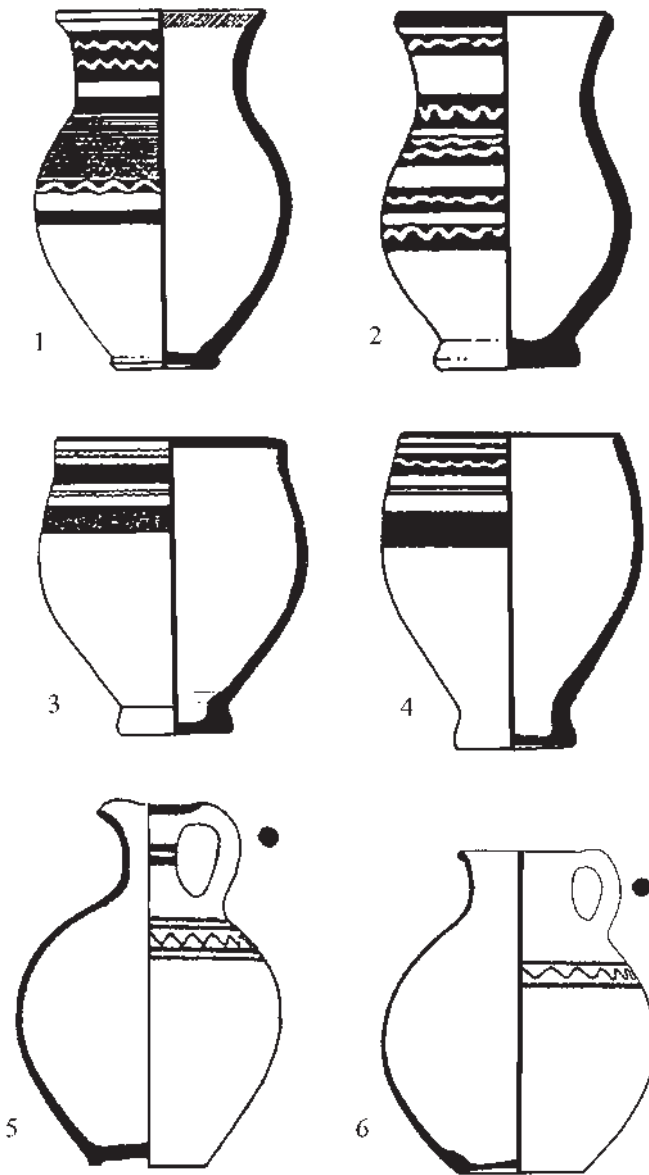


Fig. 5: EB IV B pottery of North-western Central Syria: nos 1–3, Zalaquiyate, after Al-Maqdissi 1987b, as follows: 1. fig. 4/1, h. 19 cm; 2. fig. 3/3, h. 12.5 cm; 3. fig. 4/1–2, h. 17 cm; 4. Saraqeb, Suleiman and Gritsenko 1986, fig. 1/2, h. 16.5 cm; nos 5–6, 'Amuq, after Braidwood and Braidwood 1960, as follows: 5. fig. 342 (Phase J), h. 15.5 cm; 6. fig. 342 (Phase J), h. 24 cm.

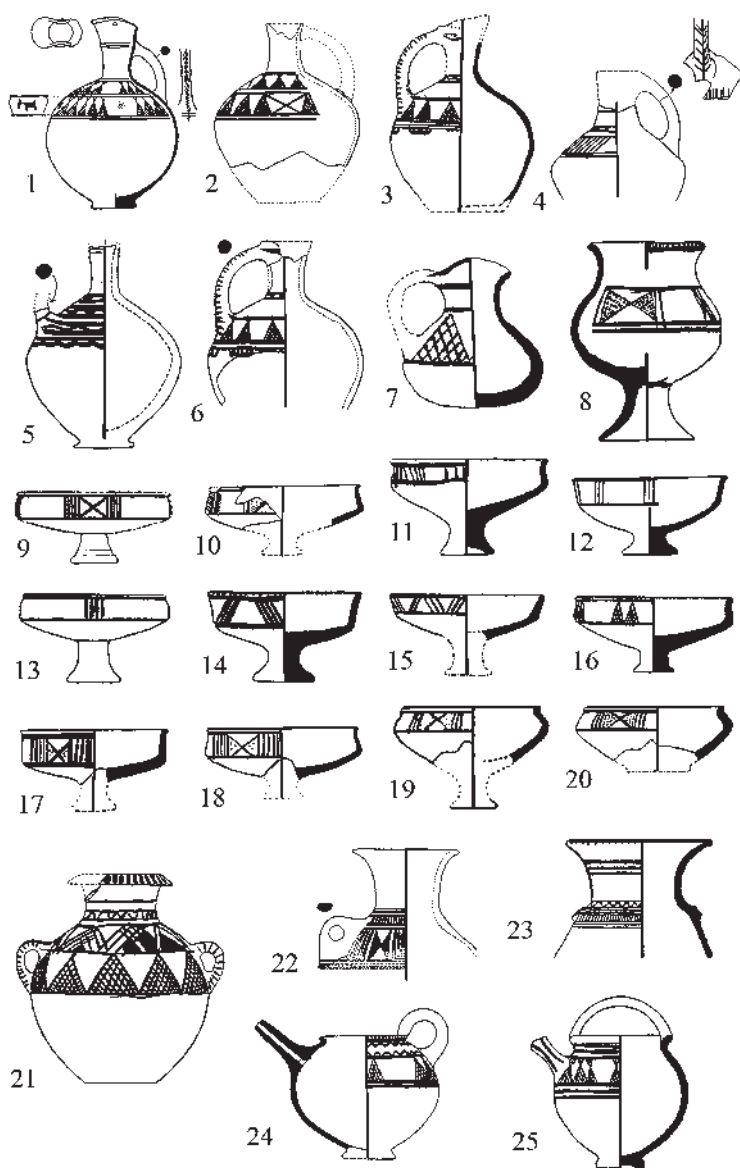


Fig. 6: Syro-Cilician painted pottery of Tarsus and Mersin: *Jugs*: nos 1–2, after Garstang 1953, as follows: 1. fig. 143:2, Mersin, h. 34.5 cm; 2. fig. 148:7, Mersin, h. 22.5 cm; 3. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 2:9, Mersin, h. 23 cm; nos 4–6, after Garstang 1953 as follows: 4. fig. 143:9, Mersin, h. 20 cm; 5. fig. 143:7, Mersin; 6. fig. 143:10, Mersin, (the same specimen as no. 3 but differently reconstructed); 7. Goldman 1956: 369 no. 858, Tarsus. *Cups and bowls on pedestals*: 8. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 4:8, Tarsus, h. 8.5 cm; nos 9–11, after Garstang 1953, as follows: 9. fig. 144:2, Mersin; 10. fig. 144:2, Mersin; 11. fig. 144:5, Mersin, h. 8 cm; 12. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 4:11, Mersin; nos 13–17, after Garstang 1953, as follows: 13. fig. 144:1, Mersin, h. 10.5 cm; 14. fig. 144:4, Mersin, h. 6.5 cm; 15. 144:3, Mersin; 16. fig. 144:6, Mersin; 17. fig. 144:1, Mersin, h. 5.5 cm; nos 18–19, after Seton Williams 1953, as follows: 18. fig. 2:4, Mersin; 19. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 4:15, Mersin, h. 8 cm; 20. Goldman 1956, p. 372, nr. 898, Tarsus, h. 15 cm. *Jars and 'tea-pots'*: 21. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 2:13, Tarsus, h. 28 cm; 22. Garstang 1953, fig. 148:8, Mersin, h. 17 cm; 23. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 2:11, Mersin, h. 14.5 cm; 24. Goldman 1956: 370 nr. 872, Tarsus; 25. Seton Williams 1953, fig. 2:10, Tarsus, h. 23 cm.



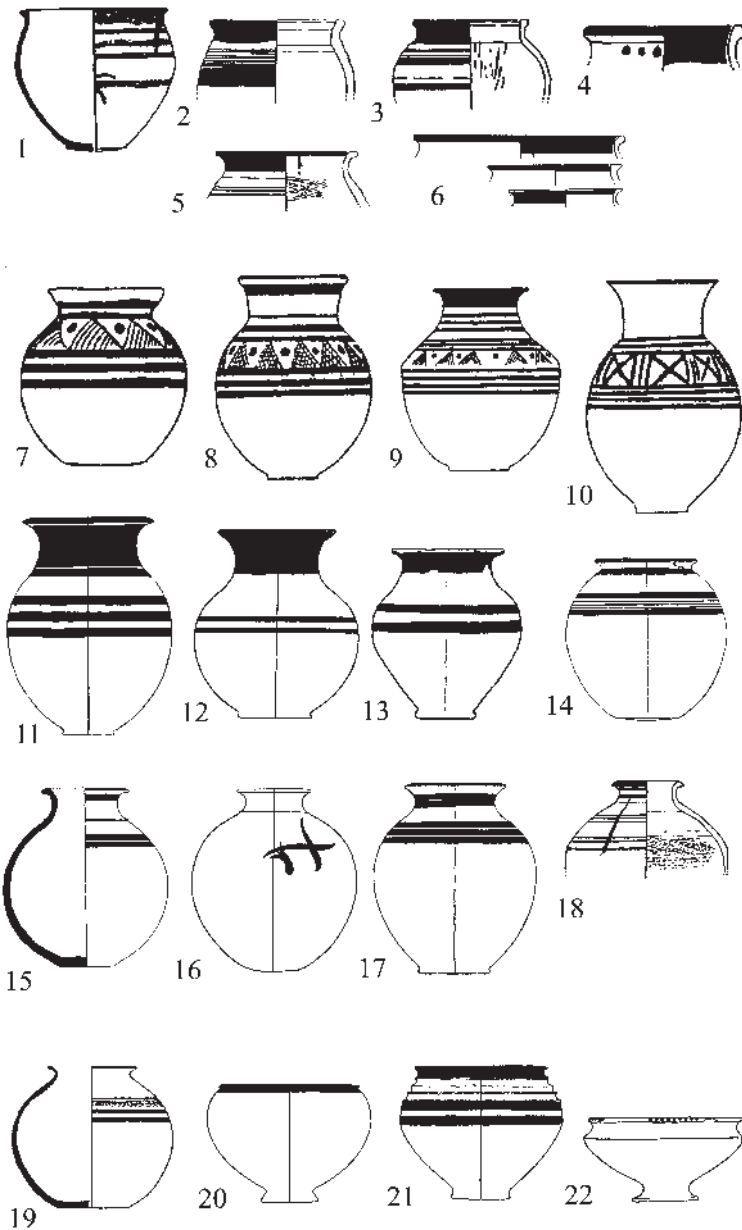


Fig. 7: Habur painted ware (subdivision into phases after Oguchi 1997, 197, fig. 1): *Phase 1*: 1. Tell Rimah, Oates 1970, pl. IX:1, h. 26.5 cm; nos 2–6, Tell Jigan, after Oguchi 1997, as follows: 2. fig. 8:1, d. 26 cm; 3. fig. 8:2, d. 22 cm; 4. fig. 8:4, d. 17 cm; 5. fig. 8:3, d. 21.5 cm; 6. 8:5–7, d. 42, 27, 23 cm. *Phase 2*: nos 7–17, Chagar Bazar, after Mallowan 1937, as follows: 7. fig. 21:1, h. 16 cm; 8. fig. 23:7, h. 13.75 cm; 9. fig. 21:12, h. 28 cm; 10. fig. 23:10, h. 15.25 cm; 11. fig. 23:11, h. 16 cm; 12. fig. 22:9, h. 20.5 cm; 13. fig. 24:10, h. 8.75 cm; 14. fig. 22:14, 25 cm; 15. fig. 16:1, h. 19 cm; 16. fig. 22:12, h. 30.5 cm; 17. fig. 22:13, h. 22.5 cm; 18. Tell Jigan, Oguchi 1997, fig. 1:10, h. 19.5 cm; nos 19–22, Chagar Bazar, after Mallowan 1937, as follows: 19. fig. 16:2, h. 25.5 cm; 20. fig. 24:9, h. 7.75 cm; 21. fig. 24:6, h. 7.5 cm; 22. fig. 16:8, h. 7 cm.

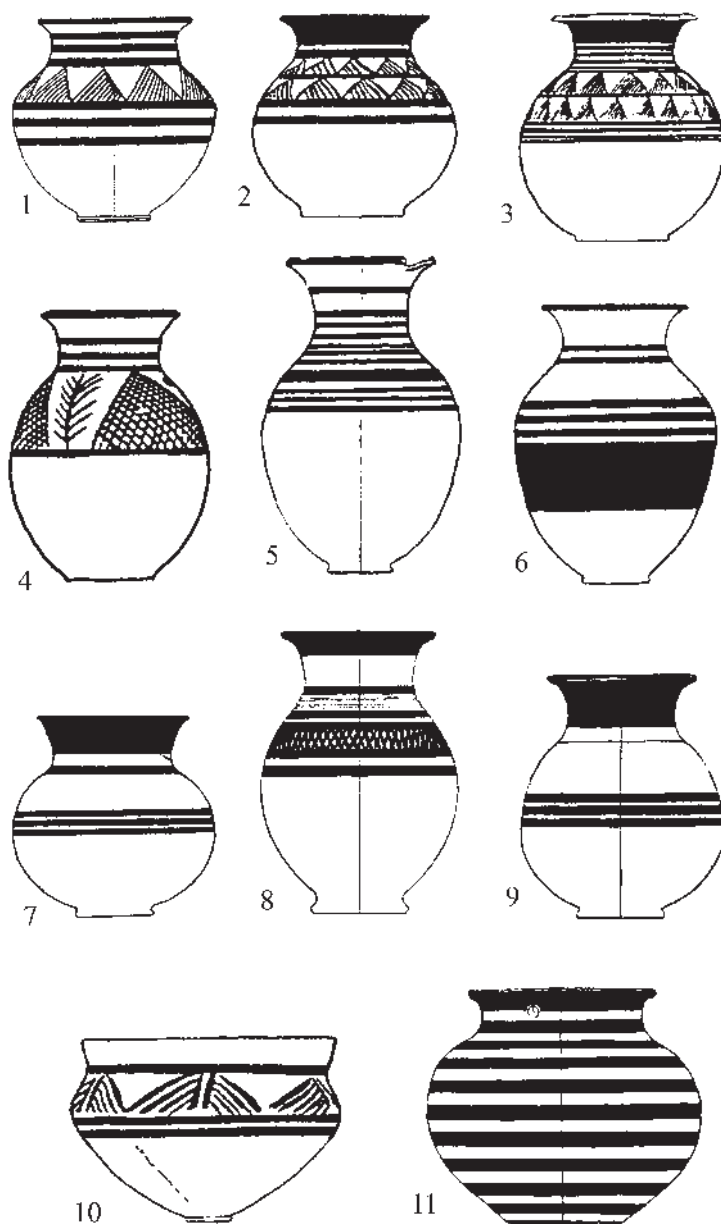


Fig. 8: Habur painted ware continued (subdivision into phases after Oguchi 1997, 197, fig. 1): Phase 3: nos 1–11, Chagar Bazar, after Mallowan 1937, as follows: 1. fig. 23:6, h. 13.25 cm; 2. fig. 23:5, h. 12 cm; 3. fig. 21:9, h. 25.5 cm; 4. fig. 21:8, h. 26 cm; 5. fig. 23:12, h. 16.25 cm; 6. fig. 23:13, h. 15.25 cm; 7. fig. 23:8, h. 14.25 cm; 8. fig. 21:5, h. 23 cm; 9. fig. 22:4, h. 15.5 cm; 10. fig. 24:13, h. 8.75 cm; 11. fig. 24:15, h. 9 cm.

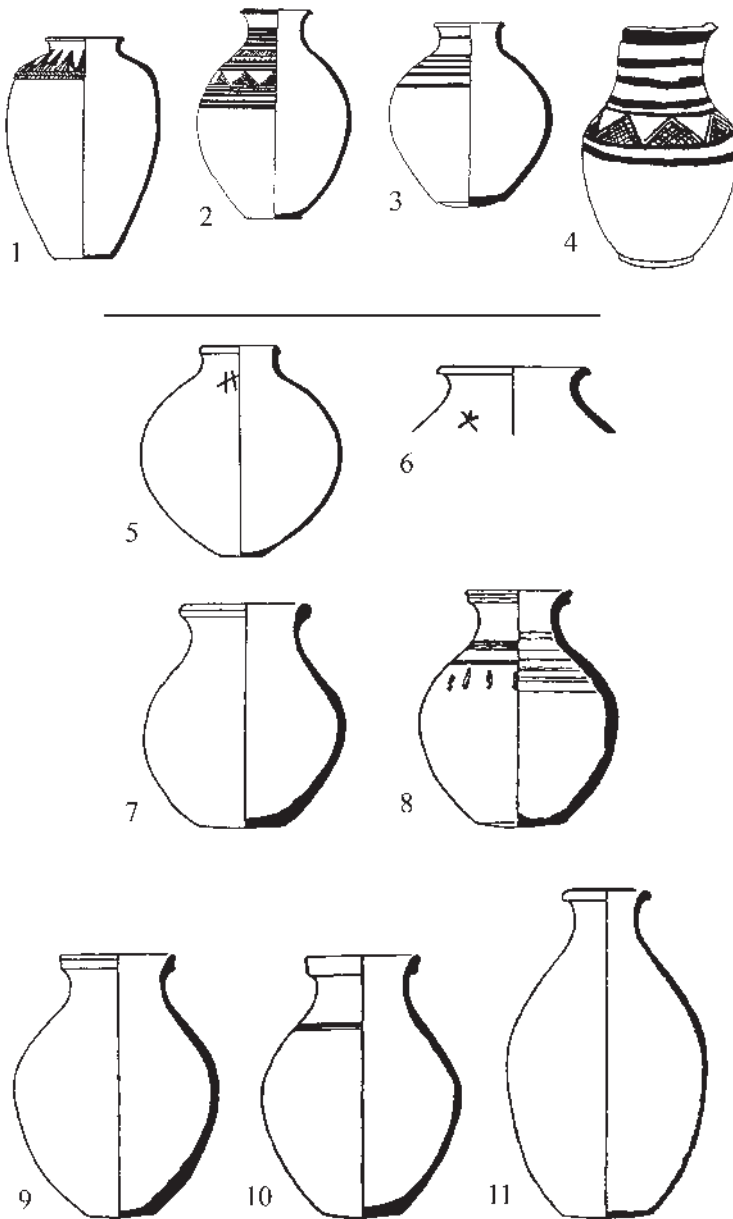


Fig. 9: Habur pottery west of Tigris River: nos 1–3. Tell Billa, after Speiser 1933, as follows: 1. Stratum 5, pl. LV:4, h. 65 cm; 2. Stratum 4, pl. LIX:4, h. 40 cm; 3. Stratum 4, pl. LIX:1, h. 30 cm; 4. Nuzi, Transitional (Temple F), Starr 1938, pl. 70:B, h. 62 cm. Jars from Syria: nos 5–6, after Mazzoni 2002, as follows: 5. Tell Mastoume, pl. XLI: 110, EB IV A2, h. 34 cm; 6. Tell Mardikh–Ebla, pl. XLI: 109, EB IV A2, d. 20 cm; nos 7–11, Tell Mardikh–Ebla, after Nigro 2002, as follows: 7. pl. XLVI: 3, MB I A, h. 16 cm; 8. pl. XLIX: 47, MB I B, h. 13.5 cm; 9. pl. XLIX: 50, MB I B, h. 17 cm; 10. pl. XLIX: 49, MB I B, h. 20.5 cm; 11. pl. LI: 54, MB I B, h. 34.5 cm.

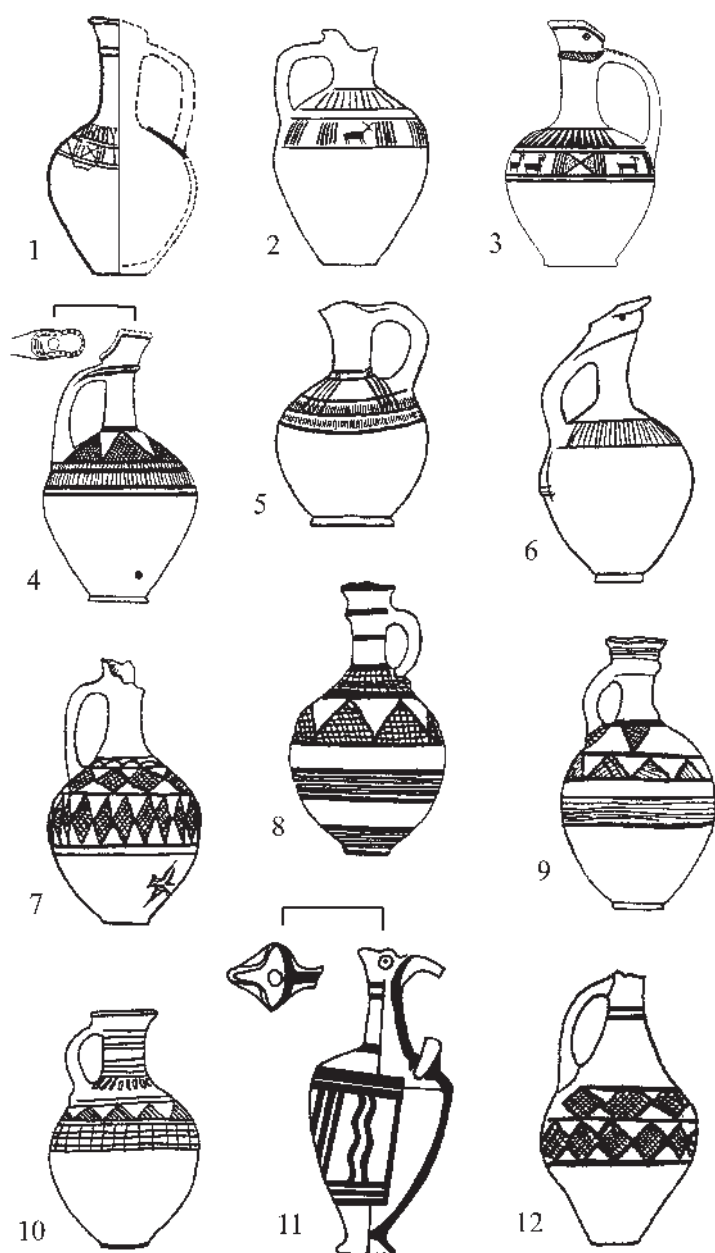


Fig. 10: Jugs of 'Levantine painted ware' – close and more distant imitations and functional equivalents of Syro-Cilician painted jugs: nos 1–6, after Seton-Williams 1953, as follows: 1. Kultepe, fig. 3:6, h. 17 cm; 2. Ayia Paraskevi, fig. 3:3, h. 24 cm; 3. Tell Atchana-Alalah, fig. 3:7, h. 31.5 cm; 4. Ras Shamra-Ugarit, fig. 3:9, h. 32 cm; 5. Ras Shamra-Ugarit, fig. 3:1, h. 20 cm; 6. Tell Mishrife-Qatna, fig. 3:4, h. 22.5 cm; nos 7–9, after Amiran 1969, as follows: 7. Tell Mishrife-Qatna, pl. 35:6; 8. Ras el-Ain, pl. 35:7, h. 30 cm; 9. Ras el-Ain, pl. 33:9, h. 31 cm; 10. Ras el-Ain, pl. 35:8; 11. Tel Kabri, Kempinski 2002, pl. 5.20:15, h. 17 cm; 12. Gezer, Amiran 1969, pl. 35:9, h. 11 cm.

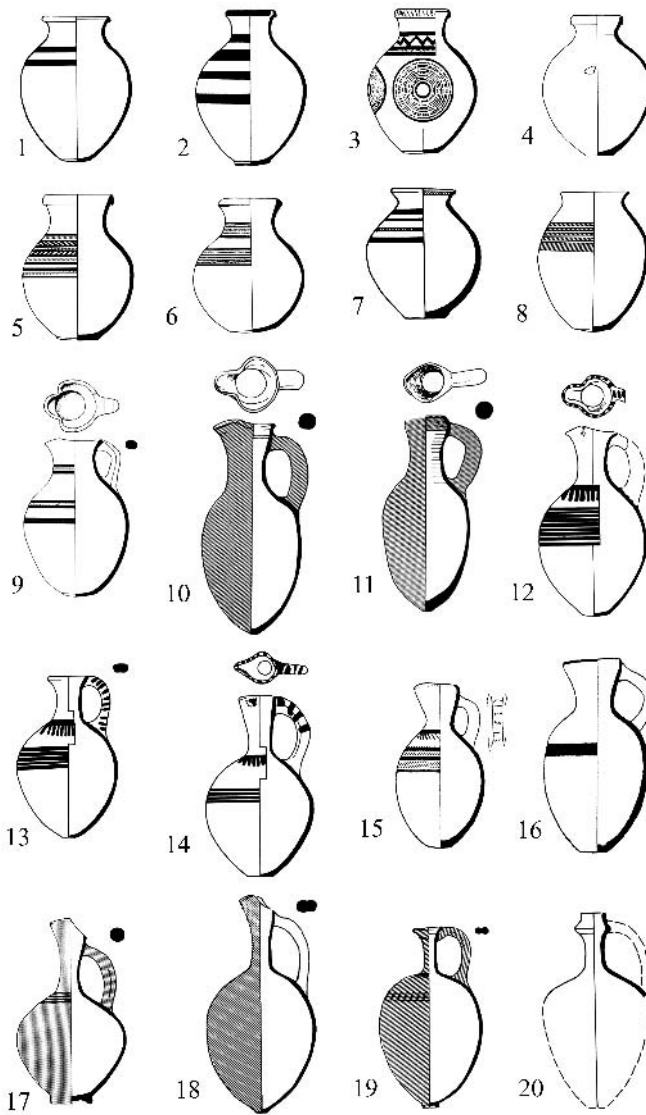


Fig. 11: Jars and jugs of MB II A pottery of Palestine: nos 1–3, after Amiran 1969, as follows: 1. 'Syrian Jar', Megiddo, pl. 35:11, h. 25 cm; 2. pl. 31:3, h. 32 cm; 3. pl. 31:2, h. 29 cm; nos 4–6, after Kochavi, *et al.* 2000, 'Syrian jar', Tel Aphek (Ras el-Ain), fig. 10.4:4, h. 33 cm; 5. fig. 10.4:3, h. 24 cm; 6. fig. 10.4:7, h. 24 cm; nos 7–8, after Kempinski 2002, as follows: 7. 'Syrian Jar', Tel Kabri, fig. 5.58:3, h. 12 cm; 8. 'Syrian Jar', Tel Kabri, fig. 5.58:4, h. 18 cm; 9. Trefoil-mouth jug, Tel Aphek (Ras el-Ain), Kochavi *et al.* 2000, fig. 10.4:5, h. 36 cm; nos 10–14, after Kempinski 2002, as follows: 10. Trefoil-mouth jug, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.21:16, h. 26 cm; 11. Dipper jug, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.39:7, h. 28 cm; 12. 'Levantine painted juglet, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.22:6, h. 24 cm; 13. 'Levantine painted juglet', Tel Kabri, fig. 5.22:12, h. 20 cm; 14. 'Levantine painted juglet', Tel Kabri, fig. 5.22:14, h. 23 cm; nos 15–16, after Amiran 1965, as follows: 15. dipper juglet, Megiddo, pl. 33:3; 16. dipper juglet, Megiddo, pl. 33:1; nos 17–20, after Kempinski 2002, as follows: 17. jug with cut-away neck, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.27:3, h. 32 cm; 18. juglet with cut-away neck, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.23:22, h. 21 cm; 19. piriform jug, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.40:8, h. 24 cm; 20. collarette juglet, Tel Kabri, fig. 5.24:11, h. 17 cm.

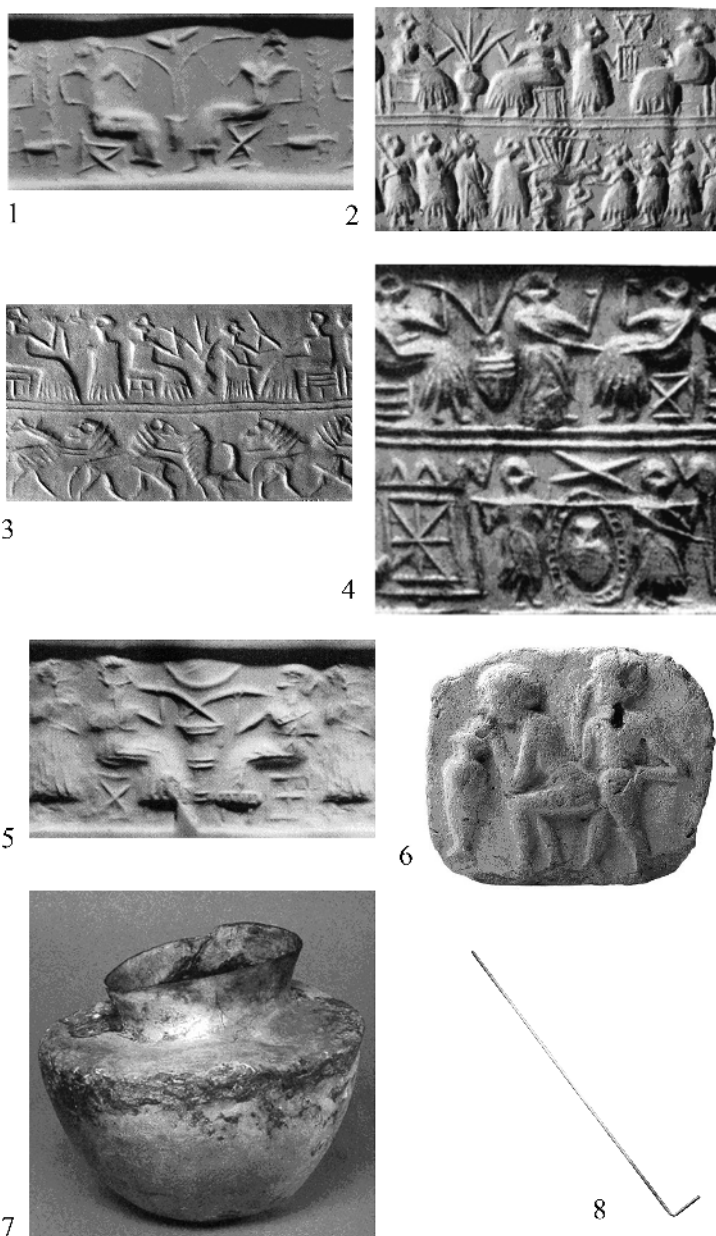


Fig. 12: Banquette scenes on cylinder seals and terracotta plaque showing drinking beer through straws: 1. seal impression, Third Early Dynastic Period, Frankfort 1939, pl. XV: a; 2. seal impression, Third Early Dynastic Period, Wiseman and Forman 1958, p. 25; 3. Seal impression, Third Early Dynastic Period, Frankfort 1939, pl. XV: f; nos 4–5, after Teissier, as follows: 4. seal impression, Akkadian Period, p. 133 (no. 89); 5. seal impression, Akkadian Period, p. 133 (no. 88); 6. drinking beer during sexual intercourse, terracotta plaque from Mesopotamia (early second millennium BCE), The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; 7. Silver beer jar from tomb of princess Pu-Abi, Royal Tombs of Ur, PG 800, B17068, h. 20.8 cm; 8. Drinking tube found inside a silver jar from tomb of princess Pu-Abi, Royal Tombs of Ur, l. 123,4 cm, d. 1 cm.

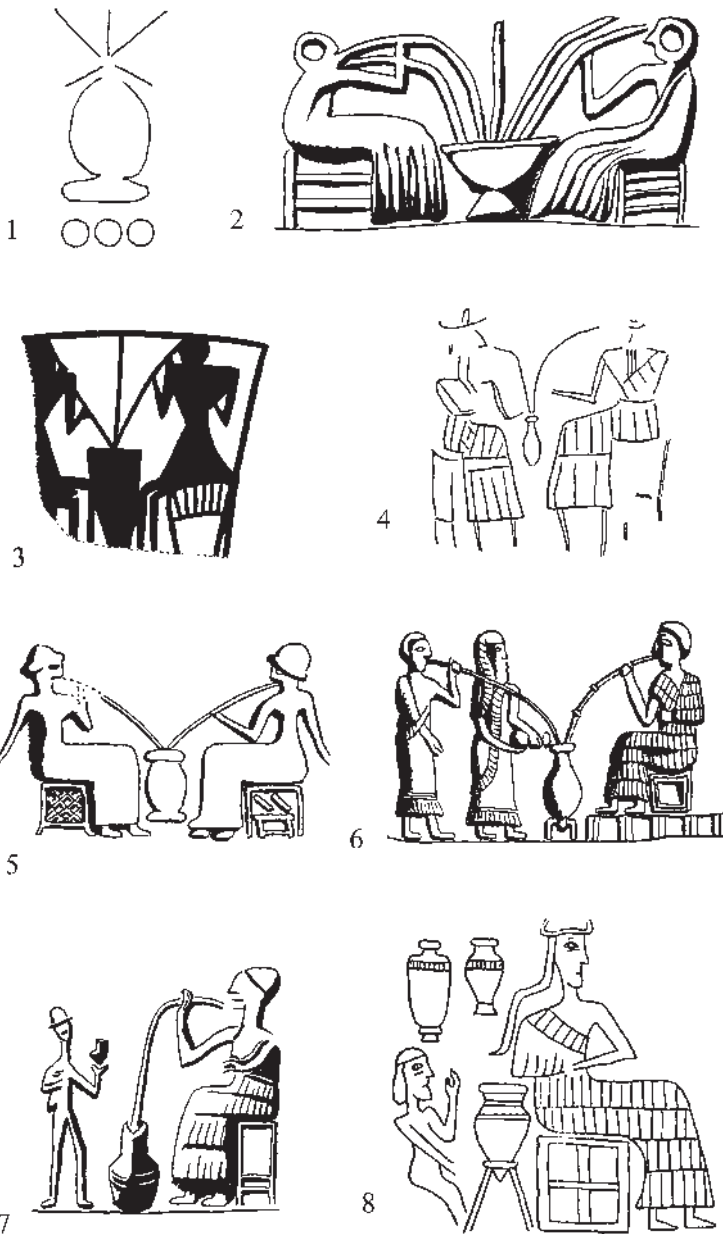


Fig. 13: 1. A seal found in Tell Asmar, Akkadian Period, after Frankfort 1939, pl. XV no. 1; 2. seal of ED II period in the Morgan Collection, New York, Porada 1948, no. 112; 3. a painted vase of ED I period found in Khafaje, OIC no. 20, fig. 50; 4. seal of the Akkadian Period in the Morgan Collection, New York, Porada 1948, no. 249; 5. a seal imprint on a Tablet from Nuzi, Porada 1947, pl. I no. 18; 6. a Syrian seal in Berlin, Moortgat 1940, no. 526; 7. an early Syrian seal in the Morgan Collection, New York, Porada 1948 Vol. I, no. 1094; 8. a seal of Akkadian period in the Collection of de Clercq, after Ward 1910, p. 153 no. 403.

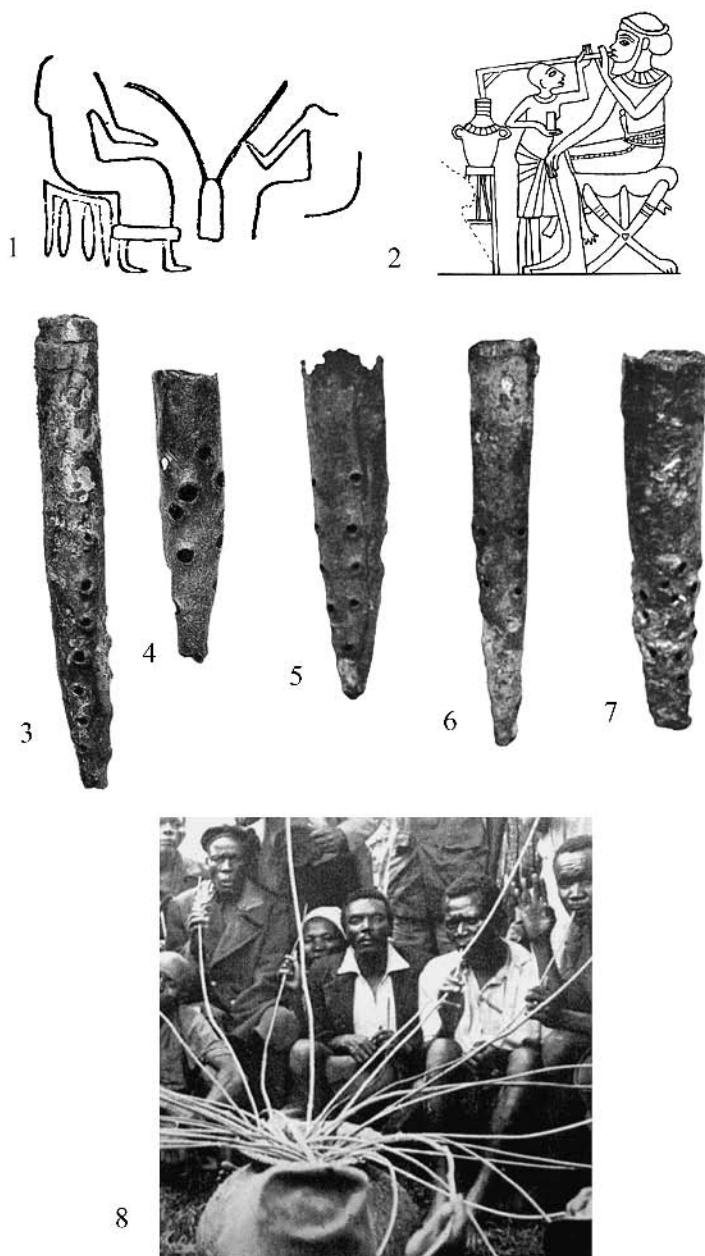


Fig. 14: 1. A seal impression, Tell Atchana, Level VII (in Petronella and Collon 1981, pl. XIX: 97; 2. a painted Egyptian stele of the 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, Spiegelberg and Erman 1908, pl. XVII; nos 3–4, copper and bronze strainers from Tell el-'Ajjul and Megiddo, first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; nos 5–7, three bronze 'wine strainers', from Chagar Bazar, Mallowan 1937, 91–177, pl. XIVc, (ca 7–9 cm long); 8. group beer drinking among men from Tiriki tribe, Kenya (20<sup>th</sup> century).




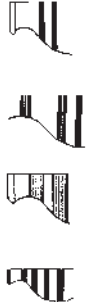
























Habur Ware	Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery	Levantine Painted Ware
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		

Fig. 15: Comparison of decorative motives of three painted wares of the beginning of the Bronze Age: Habur Ware, Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery and Levantine painted Ware.


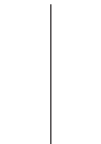
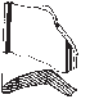





















Habur Ware		Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery		Karum-Kanesh pottery, levels IV-III	
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					

Fig. 16: Comparison of decorative motives of three painted wares of the beginning of the Bronze Age: Habur Ware, Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery and the pottery of Karum-Kanesh, Levels IV-III.



- 1 War god enthroned; holds a goblet into which a worshipper pours a libation from a jug; facing a weather god on a bull with a goblet; in front of a seated god and pedestalled altar, pl. XXIV: 71



- 2 A seated god with a goblet in his hand; a man in divine costume offers a large spouted jar 'teapot'; between are a pedestalled altar and a small worshipper, pl. XIII: 38



- 3 A seated god with a goblet in his hand; guided by an interceding god; a worshipper brings a goblet and a beaked pitcher; jar and 'elixir-vase' between the seated god and interceding god, pl. IX: 27



- 4 A seated god, goblet in his right hand; receiving a libation poured from a spouted jar 'teapot' held by another god; between them a jug and an 'elixir-vase', pl. X: 29

Figs 17: Iconographic sources for functional interpretations of drinking and pouring vessels. Impressions of cylinder seals on envelopes found in Kültepe-Kanesh II (first quarter of second millennium BCE; after Özgüç 1965).



- 1 The weather god on a bull with an axe on his shoulder and a goblet in his right hand; a worshipper pours libation into this goblet from a spouted jug, pl. X: 29



- 2 A seated god, goblet in right hand, shaft-hole axe on left shoulder; approached by person with a 'teapot', pl. XVII: 52



- 3 The War God seated, goblet in right hand, shaft-hole axe on left shoulder; small man in divine garb offering him a spouted jar 'teapot'; an interceding god, an "elixir-vase"; a man in divine garb carrying a goat; a hunting god with a curved weapon on shoulder and an animal in his left hand; above this – a jar, pl. XXII: 67



- 4 God sitting with a cup and a reed projecting from hydria in his right hand; shaft-hole axe on left shoulder; a worshipper in divine garb offering a spouted jar "teapot"; near a "hydria" a pedestalled altar/ pl. XIV: 40

Figs 18: Iconographic sources for functional interpretations of drinking and pouring vessels. Impressions of cylinder seals on envelopes found in Kültepe-Kanesh II (first quarter of second millennium BCE; after Özgüç 1965).



- 1 God sitting with a cup and a reed projecting from hydria in his right hand; shaft-hole axe on left shoulder; a worshipper in divine garb offering a large spouted jug; beneath the worshipper a pedestalled altar, pl. XIII: 39



- 2 Ea enthroned, a fish inside and to the right of the throne, which is set on a goat-fish; Ea's right hand holds a small cup and a drinking reed which protrudes from a hydria', pl. VIII: 23



- 3 Ea enthroned, a fish inside and to the right of the throne, which is set on a goat-fish; Ea's right hand holds a small cup and a drinking reed which comes from a 'hydria'; facing him a kneeling man in short tunic, offering a spouted jug, pl. VIII: 23



- 4 A seated god; reed from 'hydria' in right hand; curved weapon on left shoulder; a worshipper in divine garb offering a large spouted jug, pl. XXVII: 80

Figs 19: Iconographic sources for functional interpretations of drinking and pouring vessels. Impressions of cylinder seals on envelopes found in Kültepe-Kanesh II (first quarter of second millennium BCE; after Özgüç 1965).





- 1 A god seated on a gazelle; an axe on his right shoulder; a goblet and one of the drinking reeds coming from 'hydria' set before him in his left hand, pl. IX: 25



- 2 Ea enthroned, feet and throne rest on a fish, goblet in his right hand; facing him a god offering a beaked pitcher; a 'hydria' in front of the seated god, pl. XVI: 49b



- 3 Ea enthroned, a goat-fish under his feet, goblet in left hand; facing him an interceding god; a beaked pitcher (?), 'hydria' and 'elixir-vase' in front of the seated god, pl. XIV: 41



- 4 Ea enthroned, a goat-fish under his feet, goblet in left hand; facing him an interceding god; a beaked pitcher (?), 'hydria' and 'elixir-vase' in front of the seated god, pl. XIV: 41

Figs 20: Iconographic sources for functional interpretations of drinking and pouring vessels. Impressions of cylinder seals on envelopes found in Kültepe-Kanesh II (first quarter of second millennium BCE; after Özgüç 1965).

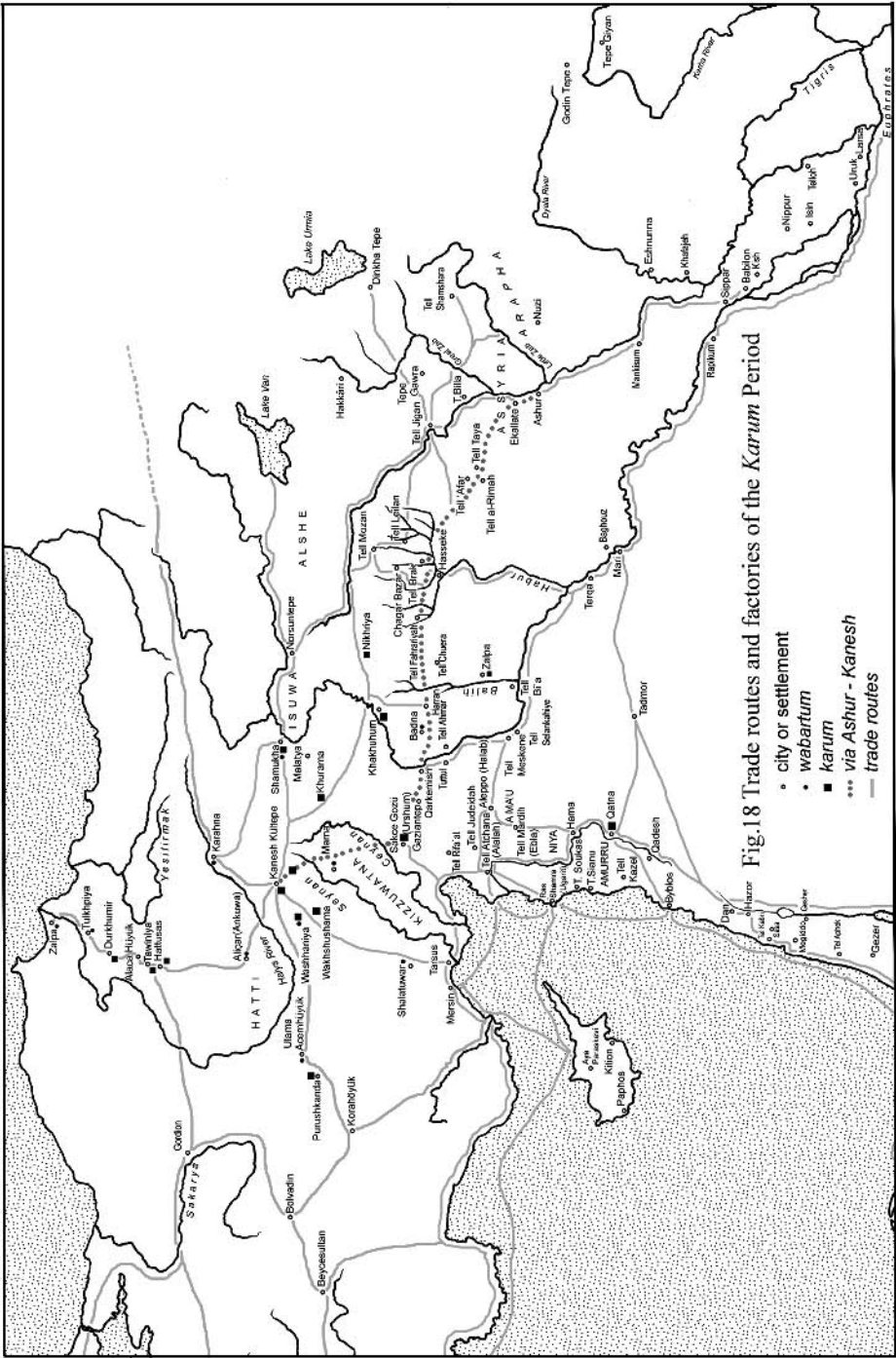


Fig. 21: Trade routes and factories of the Karum Period.

# The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project: The First Five Seasons of Archaeological Work at a Site in the Upper Tigris River Valley, Southeastern Turkey

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**Abstract:**

*Recent excavations in the upper Tigris River valley have yielded an increasing number of archaeological data that have been helping archaeologists in the reconstruction of ancient histories in this specific region. Among these projects, the Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project has focused its attention on a fundamental phase of occupation — the Middle Bronze Age — that characterises the site as well as numerous other settlements in the upper Tigris River valley. The present article will emphasise the role played by Hirbemerdon Tepe, located along the western bank of the upper Tigris river valley in southeastern Turkey, at both a local and inter-regional level during the Middle Bronze Age period that shows an increase in long-distance commercial exchanges between Mesopotamian and Anatolian polities. More specifically, an in-depth analysis will be given to the large architectural complex discovered on the site's High Mound and on a preliminary interpretation of the material culture found within it.\**

The most recent decades of archaeology in the Near East have been characterised by an increase in rescue projects focused on the excavation of ancient sites threatened by the construction of dams along major rivers. While these state sponsored developments have been strongly criticised for their effect on both mobile and immobile cultural resources, the resulting salvage excavations of threatened ancient sites has also served as a fundamental yardstick for the study of ancient civilisations by archaeologists and historians. It was within this general research environment that the Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project was initiated in the year 2003 as part of a broader archaeological rescue project under the patronage of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism in collaboration with the Archaeological Museum of Diyarbakır and the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente. The rescue project aims to recover the archaeological remains from the region of the upper Tigris River valley, southeastern Turkey, slated to be flooded by the completion of the Ilisu dam in 2010.

### **A Brief Historical Introduction to the Upper Tigris River Valley**

Since prehistoric periods, the upper Tigris River valley served as one of the key areas in the development of ancient societies of Near East. The presence of natural resources (for example, the copper of the Ergani-Maden

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mines),<sup>1</sup> the production of important commodities (for example, wine),<sup>2</sup> and the availability of the Tigris River as a means of communication have been the major factors for the increasing the interest in this region by exogenous populations. However, the natural barriers limiting a direct access to the upper Tigris River valley — such as the presence of the Tur 'Abdin to the south — have also played an important role in secluding the communities inhabiting this area from other cultural areas as is demonstrated by the archaeological record of certain periods.

The relevance of this region in the broader Near Eastern landscape has been highlighted by the last forty years of archaeological investigations, which have brought to light numerous archaeological sites.<sup>3</sup> In particular, regarding the prehistoric periods, numerous settlements have been identified, such as Demirci, Hallan Çemi, and in particular the site of Çayönü, situated 30 km north of Diyarbakır and dating to the so-called Pre-Pottery Neolithic B chronological phase (*ca.* 7500–6000 BC),<sup>4</sup> which are considered to be of particular importance for this specific period.

The relevance of this region in human history is connected not only to the presence of the Tigris river, but even more so to its geographical position which allowed it to play a fundamental role in connecting the Mesopotamian regions to both northern and eastern Anatolian areas. As mentioned before, the presence of raw material sources for metal in the Ergani-Maden area, located near the Tigris valley further north of Diyarbakır, may have stimulated interest in this region by foreign populations.<sup>5</sup> This is evident during the third millennium BC when the access to copper was fundamental for the metallurgical production of alloys. The victory stele of the Old Akkadian ruler Naram-Sin (*ca.* 2200 BC), found at the site of Pir Hüssein in the proximity of Diyarbakır, also lends credence to this notion.<sup>6</sup> The strong link between this region and northern Mesopotamia during the last quarter of the third and first quarter of the

Moreover, our best acknowledgements for the economic and logistic support go to the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Grand Valley State University, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Curtis T. and Mary G. Brennan Foundation, and other private donors who have supported the work of archaeological excavation at Hirbemerdon Tepe. Finally, our deepest gratitude goes to the members of the archaeological team, Mehmet Bey, the people of Ahmetli, Sahinler, and Merdan Köy for their participation to the project.

<sup>1</sup> Yener 2000, pp. 57–60.

<sup>2</sup> Forlanini 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Algaze *et al.* 1991.

<sup>4</sup> Özdoğan A. 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Kelly–Buccellati 1990; Yener 2000, pp. 57–64.

<sup>6</sup> Orthmann 1975, p. 197, fig. 105.

second millennium BC is also confirmed by archaeological data such as similarities in pottery production between sites of the upper Tigris River valley with those of the Syrian Djezirah, one of the most important regions of northern Mesopotamia during this period.<sup>7</sup>

The interaction between communities along the upper Tigris river valley and those in Mesopotamia did not cease during the course of the second millennium BC, when we know from written texts that Shamshi-Adad's (*ca.* 1830–1776 BC) sons, Ishme-Dagan and Yasmah-Addu, moved several times north to cross the Tur 'Abdin mountains.<sup>8</sup> During the second half of the second millennium BC this region became a land of interaction, generally violent in nature, between the Mitanni, the Hittites, and the Assyrians.<sup>9</sup>

The end of the second and the first half of the first millennia BC is one of the most represented periods among the sites along upper Tigris River valley. The Neo-Assyrian Empire (*ca.* 930–610 BC) attempted to dominate the available resources of southeastern Anatolia, and several of the military campaigns of the Assyrian kings were devoted to the destruction of small local powers that probably controlled this region since the last centuries of the second millennium BC.<sup>10</sup> This period also corresponds to an increase in written texts documenting the expedition of several Assyrian kings towards the north, and especially to the land of Nairi (a large geographical area north of the Kashiyari mountains and near the upper Tigris valley, which 'summarizes the sequence Bit-Zamani + Shubru + Nirdun + Urumu' in the second military campaign of the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II, 882 BC),<sup>11</sup> where Tushhan, the provincial capital of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, was located.<sup>12</sup> These military expeditions were fundamental in defining the northern frontier of the Assyrian empire and for gaining a closer proximity to the land of Shubria/Shubru that acted as a buffer zone between the Assyrians and the Urartians.<sup>13</sup> The expeditions of the Neo-Assyrian kings were also conducted in order to destroy local ruling powers, to restore the Assyrian power following turmoil provoked by local rulers, and finally, to define new forms of political control over the provincial lands of Nairi.<sup>14</sup> Such facets are clearly evidenced in some of the written Assyrian sources,

<sup>7</sup> Matney *et al.* 2002, pp. 62–4.

<sup>8</sup> Karg 1999, p. 274; Parker 2001, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Grayson 1987, pp. 128–38; Liverani 1994, pp. 99–100.

<sup>10</sup> Parker 2001, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Liverani 1992, p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> Kessler 1980, karte V Tushhan, can probably be identified as the modern site of Ziyaret Tepe, located next to the modern village of Tepe (Matney *et al.* 2002, pp. 49–51).

<sup>13</sup> Karg 1999, p. 276.

<sup>14</sup> Liverani 1992, pp. 92–93, 107–108.

such as Ashurnasirpal's second and fifth military campaigns,<sup>15</sup> recorded within his Annals (882–879 BC)<sup>16</sup>, in which the famous Neo-Assyrian king describes in great detail his campaigns to the north in order to restore the Assyrian legacy and to increase the tribute of these independent kingdoms. The entire region finally succumbs to the control of the Assyrians during the reign of Ashurnasirpal's successor, Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC).<sup>17</sup> Subsequently, Achaemenid control of the entire region replaces Assyrian domination as is documented by texts detailing the movement of Xenophon in 400 BC crossing the Tigris River through this region. The upper Tigris River valley is then incorporated into the empires of Alexander, the Seleucids/Romans, and, finally, the Parthians-Sasanians (*ca.* 224 AD), before the Islamic period.<sup>18</sup>

### Hirbemerdon Tepe

Within the upper Tigris River valley, the site of Hirbemerdon Tepe was seen immediately by archaeologists as the perfect settlement for investigating the strategic role of this region in the overall ancient Near Eastern political setting, in part because of its location along the east bank of the river about 40 km east of Bismil — the Diyarbakır province — across from the confluence of the Batman Su and the Tigris River (Fig. 1). The morphology of the river plateau is also a fundamental element in the overall pattern of the settlement. The bed of the Tigris along the eastern side borders the site, whereas a modern irrigation channel has eroded the northern side of Hirbemerdon Tepe. In fact, the site is divided into three different sectors that have been occupied during most of the archaeological phases discovered at Hirbemerdon Tepe (Fig. 2: 1):

- (a) A High Mound, occupying about 4 ha of the total extension of the site;
- (b) A flat Outer Town, *ca.* 3.5 ha, which along the southern limit is distinctively separated from the mound by a natural, steep rock formation that in certain sections appears to have been shaped in the form of large steps;
- (c) A Lower Town, measuring about 3 ha, and mostly occupied by temporary settlements.

<sup>15</sup> This last military campaign is also narrated in the famous 'Kuh Monolith', which was found in the site of Üçtepe/Kuh about 10 km west of Bismil (Parker 2001, p. 163).

<sup>16</sup> Liverani 1992, pp. 57–62.

<sup>17</sup> Liverani 1992, pp. 112–114.

<sup>18</sup> Karg 1999, pp. 278–280.

In terms of chronological phases, the following archaeological periods have been identified during the first four years of archaeological work at Hirbemerdon Tepe:

### *Chalcolithic Period*

The archaeological remains of this phase (fourth millennium BC) have only been found in the Outer Town (Area B). Moreover, the architectural features are badly preserved and the material culture is characterised by the presence of a locally produced Chaff-Faced Ware (Figs 6–10).

### *Late Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age*

The occupational phase occurred during the late third millennium BC is recognizable both in the Outer Town (Area B) and the High Mound (Area A); but while in Area B this phase is highly represented and characterised by architectural features connected with working activities, in Area A this archaeological phase is recognizable in scattered sections of the High Mound. The material culture of this phase is marked by the presence of Red Brown Wash Ware (hereinafter RBWW) discovered in association with other pottery assemblages typical of a late third millennium horizon (for example, the Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls – hereinafter DROB) (Fig. 11: 1–4). However, the most important archaeological phase at Hirbemerdon Tepe occurred during the first half of the second millennium BC. It is during this period that the whole site was occupied. Specifically in the High Mound (Area A) the archaeological team revealed the most impressive remains of this specific period. In fact, the architectural complex discovered during the year 2005 and 2006 seems to be one of the most impressive architectural structures of the Middle Bronze Age period in the whole upper Tigris river valley. The material culture found within the architectural complex is also of extraordinary importance because it highlights not only the recurrence of locally produced pottery discovered in earlier archaeological contexts (such as the RBWW pottery assemblage), but also shows connections with other regions like northern Mesopotamia and central Anatolia (for example, decorated clay votive plaques, painted pottery — the ‘Pseudo-Khabur’ Ware assemblage — a stone mold for the production of shaft-hole axes, and a grape-cluster decorated vessel).<sup>19</sup> In the High Mound (Area A), the abandonment phase of the architectural

<sup>19</sup> Laneri *et al.* 2008.

complex during the Late Bronze Age is marked by the presence of a few scattered fragments of painted pottery typical of the 'younger' Khabur and Nuzi ware<sup>20</sup> together with the continuous presence of the RBWW assemblage (Fig. 20: 5).

### *Iron Age*

After a long period of abandonment, the site was re-occupied during the late part of the second and the first half of the first millennium BC. Owing to a limited number of architectural structures discovered during the archaeological excavation, it is impossible to clearly understand how the site functioned especially in relationship with major contemporaneous site such as Ziyaret Tepe.<sup>21</sup> The material culture discovered during both the archaeological survey and excavations appears, however, to be associated with an Early and Late Iron Age horizon epitomised by a locally produced pottery and some elements of the Neo-Assyrian cultural horizon. The repertoire includes vessels belonging to the so-called 'Grooved Ware' assemblage (Figs 21: 7–9 and 22: 1–11) and some bowls of the Neo-Assyrian Common Ware types (Fig. 21: 1–4, 8–10). Painted sherds (Fig. 22: 13) are very rare and should be dated to a later (Post Neo-Assyrian) Iron Age period. In addition, two grooved basalt grinding mauls and a basalt bowl with a ring-base and grooved rim<sup>22</sup> have clear similarities to other artifacts found in Syro-Anatolian sites dating back to the Iron Age period.<sup>23</sup>

### *Islamic period*

The last occupational phase at Hirbemerdon Tepe is visible only in the High Mound and is marked by elements, such as Glazed Ware and Incised Ware, which can be associated with a twelfth to fourteenth century AD cultural horizon (Fig. 22: 14).

<sup>20</sup> Stein 1984.

<sup>21</sup> Matney and Rainville 2005.

<sup>22</sup> Laneri *et al.* 2006.

<sup>23</sup> Parallels for this type of objects send back to Tell Halaf (von Oppenheim and Hrouda 1962: taf. 38.c), Sultantepe (Lloyd and Gökçe 1953, pl. 1.1), probably Boğazköy (Bohemer 1979, taf. 38.3847; Boehmer 1972, taf. LXXXIII. 2190; Bossert 2000, taf. 93.1103, 1104), Assur (Miglus 1996, taf. 58–59), Khirbet Qasrij (Curtis 1989, fig. 22.31), Tell Ahmar (Green and Hausleiter 2001, 105, fig. 4), Tell Halaf (von Hoppenheim and Hrouda 1962, taf. 51.2, 3, 36, taf. 52.34).

## The High Mound

After a preliminary intensive and geophysical survey performed in the years 2003 and 2004<sup>24</sup> archaeological work in the High Mound focused on testing the results of the surveys through intensive archaeological excavation directly west of the area investigated with the gradiometer. The images resulting from this geophysical survey clearly highlighted a sub-superficial presence of a long alleyway with a NE-SW direction limited by walls with low magnetic properties such as limestone. Towards the north, this alleyway appears to have served also as a passageway connecting a series of small aggregated rooms. Drawing upon these important sub-superficial architectural features, the archaeological work in the High Mound has been primarily dedicated to the actual definition of the extension and function of this architectural complex as well as an attempt to define its chronological framework.

Related to these research objectives, the results of the first two seasons of excavation in the High Mound have yielded a clear chronological sequence of the area in which the latest occupational phase belongs to an Islamic horizon demonstrated by the presence of fragments of Glazed Ware as well as Incised Ware. For this period, the architectural features are badly disturbed and not even one surface can be associated with the rare traces of material culture discovered during the excavation. Architectural features and material culture of the Iron Age marks the layers of two phases found just below Islamic period. In particular, the later phase of occupation is characterised by a series of pits, by the presence of series of rooms with stone walls and stone foundations which are associated with badly disturbed floors. Presently, the scarcity of data does not allow the reconstruction of coherent plans of the ancient architectural features. In terms of the material recovered, the pottery assemblages consist of types that belong to a local Anatolian production such as Grooved Ware, jars with painted triangles, small hole-mouthed jars slightly burnished on the exterior, a spouted jar, and a small Plain Simple Ware jar with a knobbed decoration along the rim.<sup>25</sup>

## The Architectural Complex of the Middle Bronze Age

The subsequent phase of occupation is the most abundant at the site. This Middle Bronze Age settlement consists of a large architectural complex divided in different sectors connected by the passageway first identified in

<sup>24</sup> Laneri 2005 and 2006.

<sup>25</sup> Anastasio 1999; Blaylock 1999; Schachner 2002.

the above-mentioned results of the geophysical survey. Both the relative and absolute chronological data support an occupation ranging within the first half of the second millennium BC. In particular, five calibrated radiocarbon dates enable the placement of the site's pottery sequence within the range of the twenty-first to sixteenth centuries BC with the main phase of occupation lying between the nineteenth and sixteenth centuries BC.<sup>26</sup>

The architectural complex was organised around two connected perpendicular axes that followed a NW-SE and SW-NE orientation. These two axes divided the whole area into three different sectors (Northern, Western, and Southeastern). In addition, the first axis was aligned with the above-mentioned passageway that also served to separate the northern section of the architectural complex from the southern one, whereas the other axis was centered on a staircase that served to balance the different terraces on which the architectural complex was built and a large outdoor space (Figs. 2:2; 3: 1). Additionally, double-walls were used to subdivide the complex into several agglutinated sections, to separate clusters of rooms with specific functions, and to restrict access to and from these rooms.

In constructing this architectural complex, the ancient planners adapted their work to the natural environment, and, after filling the uneven geological structure of the site, they also embedded the western limits of one building into the limestone bedrock through the use of a highly skilled masonry technique. The limestone was also utilised to build the walls of the architectural complex that are still preserved 30 to 120 cm above the ancient floors. In antiquity, mud-brick or pisè walls were constructed on top of the stone ridges, demonstrated by the presence of a few relics of mud-brick and pisè walls in some parts of the complex. The floors encountered in the architectural complex are of four different types: virgin soil, compacted clay floors built on top of the virgin soil, floors with flat flagstones, and cobblestones pavements. Traces of the roofing are visible in the matrix of the material collapsed on top of floors and is composed by a combination of reeds and wooden beams sealed by a layer of plaster. In addition, the inner face of the walls was probably washed with plaster as best as can be surmised by the few traces present in some rooms.

Another hallmark of the complexity of the architectural structure was a series of water drains linking the inner and outer spaces. This type of drainage system has comparable examples dating to the Middle Bronze Age at such sites like İmamöğlu along the upper Euphrates valley<sup>27</sup>, and the

<sup>26</sup> Laneri *et al.* 2006.

<sup>27</sup> Uzunöğlu 1985, R.7–8.



*karum* of Kültepe.<sup>28</sup> It is important to note that the long alleyway functioned as both a walkway connecting the different sectors of the architectural complex, through a sidewalk positioned along the northern side, and as a drainage/sewage facility used to collect water and trash from all the different working areas located along it.<sup>29</sup> This latter functional use of the street is strongly confirmed by the highest density of fragmented archaeological data (pottery, animal bones, molds, portable hearths, *etc*) found in this specific context.

Spatial distribution and functional analyses of the different districts of the architectural complex reveal that each sector was divided into separated buildings adjoined in an agglutinated plan using abutted double walls.<sup>30</sup> Each building was characterised by a combination of small roofed and unroofed rooms that appeared to be connected in a manner designed to serve a precise chain of production steps in which the rooms closer to the main alleyway were dedicated to active productive activities, as is demonstrated by the presence of *in situ* mortars, grinding stones, pestles, portable hearths, and working benches,<sup>31</sup> whereas the rooms further away from the alleyway are marked by the presence of ceramic containers probably used for the provisional storage of goods at the end of this productive process. In addition to all these data, the total absence of features that can be connected to domestic activities (such as hearths, central courts, *etc*) confirms that the architectural complex appears to be entirely dedicated to specialised activities, which may or may not have been controlled by some form of centralised administration.

Two of the three different sectors discovered during the first five seasons of archaeological work at Hirbemerdon Tepe bear strong similarities, and, despite the staircase and stone paved alleyway separating the units, the material culture in most of these units appears to be connected with specialised working activities. The Northern sector is comprised of a series of agglutinated long buildings divided into a series of small rooms marked by the presence of numerous stone tools (mortars, pestles, grinding stones, stone benches) probably used for processing food as is demonstrated by the

<sup>28</sup> Özguç 2003, figs. 55 and 57.

<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to notice that while all the buildings of the Northern sector have a direct access to the alleyway, the Southeastern sector has only one direct access to the alley. This information reaffirms our hypothesis that envisions this Middle Bronze Age architectural complex as a structure composed by a series of specialised sectors, which are purposely separated by a centralised authority.

<sup>30</sup> The Northern sector, which is also the widest exposed sector, shows the presence of a series of long buildings having each one a main entrance along the alley.

<sup>31</sup> Laneri *et al.* 2006.

discovery of charred plant remains of cereal grains and grape seeds and whole fruits on the floor.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the building furthest west of the Northern unit differs from the others both in its plan and functionality. In fact, it is marked by a high density of cooking pots, a thick burnt layer and a large, oval fire place. Consequently, this building may have served as the main kitchen area for the buildings of the Northern sector or for the whole complex.

The stone staircase separates the Northern unit from the Western one. Although these two sectors differ in the distribution and plan of the agglutinated buildings, they have strong similarities in the material culture found inside the rooms including tools designed for production and storage jars. Of particular interest are the building techniques employed in the construction of the Western sector, which, as mentioned before, employed the embedment of the natural limestone bedrock into the artificial walls and floors.<sup>33</sup>

Along the southern side of the northwestern wing of the Western sector, a double wall separates this unit from the southwestern wing. However, a poorly preserved staircase connected the wings. Moreover, due to the fact that no direct access to southwestern wing has been yet discovered during the last two seasons of excavation, it appears that an entrance from outside should be located along the southern side of the unit. Although the material culture found *in situ* have strong similarities with the rest of the architectural complex, the architectural plan of this sector is marked by a different segmentation of spatial units represented by larger rooms.

The area separating the Western sector from the Southeastern one is probably the most fascinating element of the whole architectural complex. It consists of an open area (hereinafter *piazza*) limited on the eastern side by the walls of the Southeastern unit and on the western limit by a sidewalk bordering the Western sector. The surface consists of layers of compacted clay and river pebbles deposited on top of the virgin soil with a steep slope towards the southeast as opposed to a northwestern slope that is typical of the rest of the complex. The *piazza* is connected to both the alley and the staircase through sidewalks bordering its sides, which are paved with small

<sup>32</sup> Laneri *et al.* 2008, table 1.

<sup>33</sup> This sector is also marked by the important presence of earlier levels of occupation belonging to a late third millennium BC horizon (Laneri, D'Agostino and Valentini 2007). Only a few patches of late Early Bronze Age material culture and architecture were found during the few soundings done within the architectural complex. These elements can either suggest that the buildings of the late Early Bronze Age were destroyed prior to the construction of the Middle Bronze Age architectural complex or, more probably, that the later period is characterised by an economic expansion and, consequently, by a re-planning.

stones and river pebbles. In the western section of this *piazza* an elliptical feature is located, constructed using medium-sized stones abutting the western sidewalk. This feature might have functioned as a ritual basin associated with the ceremonial practices that were probably enacted in the outdoor space. This hypothesis is based on the thick layer of material culture found on the *piazza*'s surface mostly consisting of large fragments of pottery vessels and other objects (decorated votive clay plaques, human and animal figurines, and highly decorated vessels, Fig. 3: 2–3) which are unique for the whole architectural complex and bear a strong ceremonial element. In addition, all the plaques and figurines, some of the ceramic vessels, have been found fragmented, and, thus, they were probably broken and ritually deposited here after they have been used in a different context. This scenario is further supported by the perceived function of the material culture recovered in this area as compared to the working tools and storage jars found in the different units of the architectural complex.

The presence of these ceremonial objects in the *piazza* clearly indicates the possible presence of a ceremonial building in the vicinity. The excavation of the Southeastern sector in 2007 confirmed this hypothesis. Exposed architecture of this unit shows a building composed of an entrance from the main alley, a series of small rooms, a possible kitchen,<sup>34</sup> and a long main room with an altar constructed with mid-sized stones and mortars located at the center of the room and foundation deposit consisting of a fine ware bowl and remains of a piglet. On the eastern side of the building, there are two rooms characterised by double walls and the absence of doorways — a ladder was presumably used to access the rooms. The high density of fragments of storage jars found in these room leads the archaeologists to suggest that they were probably used as storing facilities for the Southeastern sector. Moreover, a similar layout represented by storage rooms with double walls were located in the vicinity of a ceremonial building can be found at the early second millennium BC site of Mohammed Diyab in northern Iraq.<sup>35</sup>

All the elements presented here confirm the uniqueness of this architectural complex located in the High Mound of Hirbemerdon Tepe characterised by the aggregation of numerous sectors with different functional purposes (such as specialised working activities and ceremonial spaces) possibly controlled by a centralised authority. Even though the structural elements of the architectural complex can be easily linked to other contempo-

<sup>34</sup> This interpretation is based on a thick ashy deposit found on the floor of the corner of the room discovered in 2007. However, only further excavations will be able to confirm this preliminary hypothesis.

<sup>35</sup> Nicolle 2006.

aneous household contexts found both in northern Mesopotamia (Tell Rijim) and in southeastern Anatolia (Girnavaz),<sup>36</sup> a comparison can also be made to the late third millennium BC Area IV 'Burned Building' and 'building complex' discovered in the high mound at Tell es-Sweyhat, located along the Middle Euphrates river valley in Syria. Tell es-Sweyhat's architectural complex has numerous functional similarities with the one discovered at Hirbemerdon Tepe, especially in the presence of warehouses dedicated to specialised working activities (marked by the presence of working tools *in situ*), areas dedicated to processing and storage of food stuffs (a 'kitchen building' is recognizable in both complex), and, finally, the establishment of a ceremonial/public building in the centre of the high mound.<sup>37</sup>

Consequently, a similar socioeconomic structure may have been present at Hirbemerdon Tepe. The nucleated workshops discovered were probably dedicated to the processing of surplus staple goods as can be surmised by the high density of operational tools used to grind grains as well as the discovery of a large kitchen room.<sup>38</sup> The presence of mid-to-large size jars of the RBWW assemblage in most of the rear rooms of the complex's building can also support the presence of temporary storing facilities used to collect the finished product. Other specialised activities were probably performed in other buildings demonstrated by the discovery of numerous discarded molds for metallurgical production in the alleyway. However, one of the most intriguing aspects of the architectural complex is the presence of ceremonial objects and a few cylinder seal impressions on jars found during the site's survey and in the alleyway. This element is of great importance, because seals and sealing impressions are usually associated with a complex system of administrative control of both production and redistribution of goods. However, the scarcity of seal impressions at the site is extremely significant and may indicate that the northern Mesopotamian model of the palace controlled economy did not necessarily represent the political economy of the societies of the upper Tigris river valley during the Middle Bronze Age. One may presume the presence of a central public place within the architectural complex from which the production and storing of goods took place and it appears that ritual provided a strong motivation in the extraction of labor and materials. Future research will define more precisely the function of each room through the analysis of the abundant material remains found *in situ* in each building in addition to analyses of the micro-debris found on the floors of these structures.

<sup>36</sup> Erkanal 1991; Kolinski 2000, pp. 10–25.

<sup>37</sup> Cooper 2006, pp. 272–273; Danti and Zettler 2002; Holland 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Cooper 2006, pp. 134–139.

### The Material Culture from the Architectural Complex

Despite their fragmented status, the votive decorated clay plaques are a unique cultural element when compared both to the broad material remains discovered at Hirbemerdon Tepe in addition to the remains of material culture at other sites in the upper Tigris river valley and contemporaneous Near Eastern regions. Fifteen fragments belonging to about four or five potential plaques were found and these artifacts have only a few iconographical comparative examples outside of Hirbemerdon Tepe. Each plaque is rectangular in shape with one flat and one decorated side. From the two nearly complete and restored examples,<sup>39</sup> it is possible to determine that the decorated side had one spout at the bottom that may have been used for ritual libations, whereas the top portion had a pierced ledge for affixing the object to the wall. In terms of the decorative patterns, the fragments discovered show incised geometric (fishbone, rosettes, zig-zag lines, circles and concentric circles, triangles) and painted (black and red) decorative elements, which were usually used to frame a central theme. In one case a stylised 'stick-like' human figure, whose form is incised and filled with a black paint, is placed above a series of aligned incised circles that separate the figure from the spout. The figure is then framed by a decorative pattern that consists in two rows of geometric incised decoration. Each row is further divided by an incised zig-zag line that defines an internal (painted in black) and external (in red) series of triangles each one characterised by an incised dot in the centre. The second example (Fig. 3: 2) is even more elaborated and consists in an applied frontally presented female naked figurine with an incised pubic triangle, elongated eyes and arms without hands that have blunt tips. As in the case of the previous plaque, the figurine is framed by an incised geometric decorative pattern placed around the figurine, consisting of two vertical and one horizontal row bearing a fishbone, incised pattern. Although it is less visible than in the first example, this plaque shows also a bi-chrome (black and red) decoration, which appears to be consistent in almost all the fragments yielded during the archaeological excavation.<sup>40</sup>

These plaques are unique and have only a few comparative examples from the Mesopotamian area. The use of clay plaques in domestic con-

<sup>39</sup> Numerous other fragments of votive plaques were found during the excavation of the *piazza* within the architectural complex. These broken pieces are currently under restoration at the Museum of Diyarbakır and they appear to be part of at least other three or four plaques.

<sup>40</sup> The remains of a female figurine can also be considered as part of another plaques, the plaque with the female figurine holding her waists can have some similarities (for the breast) with a piece from Habuba K. (Badre 1980, pl. L.21).

texts is typical of the Old Babylonian period in southern Mesopotamian sites<sup>41</sup>, however, from both a contextual and iconographic analysis it is clear that the examples from Hirbemerdon Tepe are completely different from these plaques found in southern Mesopotamia. At this point, the only feasible comparison is with the famous plaque showing a frontally presented female deity found in the level G of the temple of Ishtar at Assur.<sup>42</sup> In this latter case, the plaque is in gypsum,<sup>43</sup> but the size, the decorative pattern, and the alternate use of red and black to decorate both the figurine and the frame appear as a possible *trait d'union* with the plaque found in the architectural complex at Hirbemerdon Tepe.<sup>44</sup> To reinforce the comparison, the rope-shapes decoration framing one of Hirbemerdon Tepe's plaques can be compared to the one of the metal votive plaque (VP2) from the Ishtar temple level E.<sup>45</sup> In terms of chronology, a recent study has reinforced the possibility for a later date of the level G of the temple of Ishtar at Assur.<sup>46</sup> In addition, according to an iconographic analysis of the gypsum plaque from the level G temple of Ishtar, Barrelet and Dales consider a possible late third millennium BC (Neo-Sumerian) chronological collocation for the object chronological.<sup>47</sup> These iconographical studies together with the reappraisal of the chronological sequence of the occupational levels at Assur help us in supporting the archaeologists in comparing the plaques found at Hirbemerdon Tepe with those found in Assur. A standing naked female figurine in the act of holding her breast and with a prominent belly button was found in the *piazza*. This figurine is part of another plaque and has close iconographical analogies with numerous examples found in Middle Bronze Age contexts in northern Mesopotamia such as the one found at Chagar Bazar in the Syrian Jezirah in the Middle Bronze Age levels (*ca.* 1700–1650)<sup>48</sup> and the one found at Tell Rijim.<sup>49</sup>

Among the material culture found in the open court (*piazza*), fragmented human and animal figurines have been also brought to light. In particular the molded female figurine holding her breast (**Fig. 3: 3**) recalls

<sup>41</sup> Opificius 1961.

<sup>42</sup> Andrae 1938, p. 54, pl. 27.

<sup>43</sup> Other fragments of decorated gypsum plaques were found at Assur (Andrae 1938, abb. 31–32).

<sup>44</sup> Bar 2003, pp. 161–165, tafel 62 & 61, Andrae 1938, p. 54, pl. 27a, 28c

<sup>45</sup> Bar 2003, p. 159, tafel 57

<sup>46</sup> Bar 2003: 38, according to this chronology revision, the level H belongs to an Early Dynastic III horizon; level G= ED III to Akkad; level E= Ur III; level D= Old Assyrian.

<sup>47</sup> Barrelet 1977, p. 92. N. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Mallowan 1947, pp. 189–190, pl. XLII.5, pl. LV.8.

<sup>49</sup> Kolinski 2000, pp. 74–75, fig. 29.

Badre's type *PI* of the 'figures estampées debout aux bras repliés sous les seins' typical of a Middle Bronze Age Syrian horizon.<sup>50</sup> The head of another human figurine (Fig. 4: 1), most likely a female, with elongated eyes, incised raised hair, and pierced ears was also found in the same context.

However, it is the objects disposed in the complex's street that have proved the most useful for both a comparative analysis and an interpretation of the productive activities carried out in the complex.<sup>51</sup> The molds for casting metal objects are probably the most consistent, and of particular interest is the upper half of a serpentine mold for making shaft-hole axes (Fig. 4: 2). These types of moulds served to create what Philip describes as 'shaft-hole axes type 4' that are "axes with flaring-sided blades, tipping upwards towards the cutting edge, socket bears a set of heavy, flaring ribs and has a stop below".<sup>52</sup> This type of axe appears as an evolution of Philip's 'Type 2', which has a mid-late third millennium BC northern Syrian origin,<sup>53</sup> and marked the production of metal axes in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia during the earlier second millennium BC as opposed to the fenestrated and narrow-bladed axes that belong to a western Syrian and Levantine tradition.<sup>54</sup> The same category of shaft-hole axes also belongs to Maxwell-Hyslop's 'Type 18'.<sup>55</sup> According to this specialist, "this type [of axe] is distinguished by the lateral ribs on the outside of the socket and the curious tang acting as a support for the shaft which extends from the lower junction of blade and socket".<sup>56</sup> Moreover, these types of axes<sup>57</sup> and molds occur in settlements of the Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Anatolian region dating to Middle Bronze Age period.<sup>58</sup> It is also interesting to point out that the introduction of portable steatite molds used for the production of both weapons (for example, the shaft-hole axe) and metal figurines during a chronological period that ranges between the late third to the early second millennia BC can be linked to the movement of craftsmen and the possi-

<sup>50</sup> Badre 1980, pp. 118–119, pl. XI.8–11; see also Rouault and Masetti Rouault 1993, p. 322, fig. 274, Mallowan 1947, pl. LV.5.

<sup>51</sup> A similar head has been found at the nearby site of Kenan Tepe (Parker and Zwartz Dodd personal communication).

<sup>52</sup> Philip 1985, pp. 65–67.

<sup>53</sup> For example, see Oates *et al.* 2001, p. 238, fig. 253.

<sup>54</sup> Philip 1985, p. 66.

<sup>55</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, pp. 107–108, pl. XXXIX. 1–3.

<sup>56</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, p. 107.

<sup>57</sup> The axe held by the warrior engraved in the 'Warrior Gate' at Böğazköy can be interpreted as a later Hittite evolution of the type here described (type 19 according to Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, p. 108).

<sup>58</sup> Belli 1993, p. 609, abb. 2 & 5a; Mallowan 1947: pl. XLI.1, pl. LV.15; Özgüç 2003: fig. 263–266; Woolley 1936, fig. 3. According to Özgüç, in central Anatolia this type of axe appears to be a 'Syrian import' (Özgüç 2003, pp. 247–248).

bility of large scale copying of elaborate designs.<sup>59</sup> Thus, this technological innovation could have facilitated the long-distance exchange of finished goods and of skilled labor that, as mentioned in the Mari texts, during the second millennium BC was controlled by local royal authorities and dispatched to different locations according to demand.<sup>60</sup>

Other noticeable objects that can be used as comparative examples with both northern Syrian and eastern Anatolian contexts are portable hearths (Fig. 4: 3). These decorated clay artifacts can be linked both to the rooms' possible function and also as evidence of some form of ritual activities performed in specific areas of the architectural complex discovered in the High Mound. Additionally, one of the Hirbemerdon Tepe portable hearths is very similar to two horseshoe-shaped hearths discovered in one of the 'Khabur period houses' at Tell Mozan/Urkesh from the early second millennium BC and at the contemporaneous upper Tigris river valley site of Salat Tepe.<sup>61</sup> The schematic anthropomorphic motifs of two other portable hearths can be compared those found at Cinis Höyük as well as hearths discovered in the Levant, the Amuq and Transcaucasia belonging to the mid-late third millennium BC (for other examples see Kultepe *karum* Level II).<sup>62</sup>

The pottery assemblage found in the architectural complex is less varied and is marked by a constant presence of a locally produced pottery, the RBWW pottery assemblage, that characterises the whole upper Tigris region during the Middle Bronze Age<sup>63</sup> (Figs 13; 14: 3–5; 15: 1, 3–4; 16; 17: 1–3, 5–6; 18). This pottery is characterised by a washed/slipped decoration that ranges from red to blackish colors and covers most of the outer surface and, partially, the inner surface of the closed forms. The fabric of the vessels belonging to this pottery assemblage includes both medium and fine ware with a predominance of mineral inclusions. In addition, the open forms (Figs 16; 17: 1–3) are marked by the presence of carinated shapes with simple everted tapering at the tip or strongly everted rims, out-turned bowls with a nearly flat top and ribbed rim, and large bowls with a rounded rim thickened externally and internally. The closed forms (Fig. 18) contain carinated jars with a wide rounded body, straight walls and a slightly flaring rim, jars with a short neck or hole-mouth and externally thickened rims, and large wide-bodied jars with vertical grooved rims. These jars can also

<sup>59</sup> Philip 1989, pp. 175–176.

<sup>60</sup> Zaccagnini 1983.

<sup>61</sup> Diamant and Rutter 1969; Kelly-Buccellati 2004 and 2005; Laneri *et al.* 2006; Smogorzewska 2004.

<sup>62</sup> Özguç 2003, fig. 50, Chagar Bazar Grave 3 of level I, Mallowan 1936, pp. 20–21, fig. 5.25.

<sup>63</sup> Özfirat 2005, pp. 70–85, Levha XXXII–LXXXVI; Parker and Swartz Dodd 2003.



have an external incised and/or applied decoration that includes a single wavy line framed by horizontal grooves, applied ribbed decoration, and incised circles. Cooking ware (Figs 14: 1–2; 15: 2) is also widely present in the pottery assemblage of the architectural complex and is usually characterised by ovoid bodies and thickened, out-turned rims, and, in some cases, by the presence of triangular lugs.

A category of pottery also widely represented at Hirbemerdon Tepe is a painted assemblage that resembles the Khabur Ware.<sup>64</sup> Considering the geographical separation between this region and the Khabur valley region, we have decided to define this category of pottery as ‘Pseudo-Khabur’ Ware that is most probably produced within the region of the upper Tigris River valley (Figs 5: 1; 19: 2–5). Moreover, this assemblage is composed only of jars that have a wide-belly with restricted neck, everted and flanged rim, and flat bases. The painted decorative pattern consists in a rectilinear decoration — plain bands, triangles hatched or cross-hatched, plain hatching, zigzags, and waves — that frames the upper body of the vessel.<sup>65</sup> Another pottery category that can support relative chronological analogies with other northern Syrian and southeastern Anatolian Middle Bronze Age sites is represented by the Grey Burnished Ware<sup>66</sup> (Fig. 19: 1). At Hirbemerdon Tepe, this pottery assemblage is rarely found and consists mostly of small carinated cups with raised ring bases and bottles with a restricted neck and everted rim.<sup>67</sup>

Within the ceramic vessels discovered in the architectural complex, a few objects appear very distinct and, in some case, can help in defining analogies with other nearby regions. Such is a bowl with a grape-cluster decoration (Fig. 17: 5) that recalls similar examples discovered at Tell Brak (ca. 1950 BC)<sup>68</sup> and Alishar Höyük.<sup>69</sup> Another unique example is a burnished carinated beaker of the Grey Burnished Ware assemblage with a ring-base, low carination, flaring walls, and two symmetrically positioned lugs along the rim (Fig. 17: 4). Although it has different dimensions, this unique vessel can be compared to some examples of beakers found in the houses of *karum* Level Ib at Kültepe.<sup>70</sup> Among the other distinctive pottery vessels found within the Middle Bronze Age complex is a small bottle

<sup>64</sup> Oguchi 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003; Stein 1984.

<sup>65</sup> Mallowan 1936, figs 17–18; Mallowan 1937, pp. 102–104, figs.21–24; Mallowan 1947, pl. LXXXI–II; McDonald and Jackson in Matthews 2003, figs. 7.23–28; Oates *et al.* 1997, pp. 63–65, figs. 192–193.

<sup>66</sup> Griffin 1980; Kaschau 1999, p. 96.

<sup>67</sup> Nigro 1998.

<sup>68</sup> Oates, Oates and McDonald 1997: fig. 82 & fig. 221.604, piece N. 604.

<sup>69</sup> Von der Osten 1937, vol. 2, fig. 174.d2800 and e326, fig. 192.d2342.

<sup>70</sup> Özgüç 1986.

with a short, wedged neck, everted rim, and an excised external decoration (Fig. 17: 6). A moulding technique was used to produce this unusual vessel, which has a hole<sup>71</sup> through the center of the base and decorative patterns along the main body composed of four alternating bands of symmetrically spaced triangles and rosettes. The neck of the vessel protrudes externally and is decorated with vertical incised lines, whereas a ridge decorated with a continuous series of triangles frames the base.

### The Outer Town

During 2005 and 2006, archaeological work was also dedicated to the completion of the excavation of the 5x10 m sounding (Area B). The results were very successful and further clarify the stratigraphic sequence in this specific section of the site. In particular, the excavation results further demonstrated that the site was continuously occupied between the late third and the first half of the second millennia BC. However, the earliest occupational phase in the Outer Town dates to the first half of the fourth millennium BC and is marked by the presence of a local Chaff-faced Ware. Due to the flooding of the river and the construction of stone platforms of the late third millennium BC, the architectural features of this phase are badly preserved and only patches of mud-brick wall foundations and a large pit with traces of burning have been found.

The large pit with wide traces of burning yielded the highest percentage of pottery belonging to this specific archaeological phase. Among the diagnostic vessels of the Chaff-Faced Ware, the authors have identified hammerhead bowls with simple flat rim slightly thickened externally or internally, hammerhead bowls with in-turned thickened bevelled rim, cooking pots and casseroles with a straight or slightly everted blunt or rounded rim and medium width mouths, storage jars with corrugations on the interior of the neck, and hole-mouth jars with straight upper walls and slightly thickened ledged rims (Figs 6–10).

In terms of chronological comparisons, the material culture found at Hirbemerdon Tepe can be dated to the Lat Chalcolithic 3 period through a comparison of types found in a wide expanse that includes northern Mesopotamia and southeastern Anatolia.<sup>72</sup> As mentioned before, the Chal-

<sup>71</sup> The hole in the decorated bottle should be interpreted as a drain hole similar to the one visible in the jar of the Khabur Ware type found at Tell Brak in northern Syria (Oates *et al.* 1997, fig. 193.313; McDonald and Jackson in Matthews 2003, fig. 7.23.15)

<sup>72</sup> For possible *comparanda* see Tell Hammam et-Turkman VB (Akkermans 1988), Hacinebi Tepe A (Pearce 2000), Nineveh, Gawra B/Uruk A (Gut 1995), Tell Leilan V–IV (Schwartz 1988), Tell Brak (Oates 1985; Oates and Oates 1993; Felli 2003) TW 14–17 and HSI, Kurban Höyük VI A–B (Algaze *et al.* 1990).

colithic layer is covered by a thick sandy layer created by the continuous flooding of the Tigris River over time and by a series of stone platforms that served to solidify the area during the late third millennium BC. Owing to presence of two foundation deposits embedded in the platforms and discovered during 2005 and 2006, these platforms were probably of fundamental importance for the communities inhabiting the site during this specific period.

These stone platforms functioned as support for the construction of a series of stone walls which were built using a mixture of medium-size limestone and river pebbles and served to separate open working areas or animal stables. This architectural plan was also maintained during the following Middle Bronze Age period. However, to further stabilise the new architectural features, a wide wall with a south-north orientation was built on top of the platforms, and a series of thin walls similar to those belonging to the previous occupational phase were constructed (Fig. 5: 2). Thus, during this long chronological period the Outer Town appears to have been dedicated to specialised working activities that in the Middle Bronze Age were most probably coordinated with those performed in the 'architectural complex' on the High Mound.

In terms of relative chronology, the DROB, Grey Burnished Ware and the locally produced RBWW are the key markers of the late third millennium phase,<sup>73</sup> in the Outer Town linking it to the assemblage of the Middle Bronze Age on the High Mound, with the presence of carinated shapes of the RBWW and 'Pseudo-Khabur' Ware distinguishing the later phase (Figs 11–12). The last occupational phase in the Outer Town is badly disturbed and yields a few examples of material culture (pottery, grinding stones, and basalt vessels) belonging to an Iron Age horizon, but no clear floors associated with this occupational phase has been yet found.

## Conclusions

In an attempt to place Hirbemerdon Tepe in a broader sociopolitical context, analyses have focused on the architectural complex on the High Mound. One of the most intriguing aspects of this area is the presence of ritual artifacts spatially segregated from, but lying next to rooms associated with working activities, food processing and storage facilities. The architectural complex of the Middle Bronze Age at the site so far suggests some

<sup>73</sup> Oates *et al.* 2001, pp. 161–162, 164, fig. 401; Özfirat 2005, pp. 65–66, Levhla XXIII.

level of community planning with the possible existence of a centralised administration of the productive resources centered on a series of units dedicated to working activities as well as the presence of a ceremonial sector. This last assumption is based on the discovery of an open area (*piazza*) in which numerous ceremonial objects (decorated votive clay plaques and vessels) were found. The outdoor area with wash layers containing what appear to be ritual related artifacts was walled off and is most likely the courtyard area to the ceremonial building of the Southeastern sector. It is quite likely that the artifacts possibly associated with ritual and ceremonial activities found in this area were purposely broken after being used in the adjoining building. However, the limited amount of exposure of the architectural complex allows us to offer only limited hypotheses.

There are however indications, in examining similar features at other archaeological sites both in the Near East and elsewhere that the process producing this architectural layout may have been conceived by emerging elites utilizing the enactment of an ideological power to secure their economic bases of power.<sup>74</sup> The further development of social complexity at Hirbemerdon Tepe and other sites of the upper Tigris region during the late third and early second millennia BC can be related to both an increase of exploitation of local resources and down-the-line trade with the neighboring regions may have been a crucial element in triggering the increasing social complexity of the communities inhabiting the region.<sup>75</sup> This chronological phase is, in fact, characterised by entrepreneurial merchants from Assur, who transported tin and textiles to areas of Anatolia to trade with local communities for much needed copper, silver, and other commodities (Old Assyrian Colonial Trade).<sup>76</sup> Assyrian texts rarely mention the upper Tigris river valley and the routes that have been reconstructed so far do not seem to pass through the environs of the site.<sup>77</sup> However, there is evidence of trade and inter-regional contact between Hirbemerdon Tepe and central Anatolia in the form of the grape-cluster decoration of one of the vessels found at Hirbemerdon Tepe, as well as contacts with northern Mesopotamia in the form of emulated styles of pottery ('Pseudo-Khabur' Ware), and the iconography of the clay female figurines. In addition, the

<sup>74</sup> Earle 1997, pp. 143–192. This is for example the case of the small size sites brought to light in the upper Khabur valley in Syria and dated to the beginning of the third millennium BC (for example, Tell al-Raqa'i, Schwartz 1994).

<sup>75</sup> Adams 1974.

<sup>76</sup> Larsen 1976.

<sup>77</sup> A few texts mention the Mardin area as a region from which merchants have imported wine that appears to be as a primary commodity produced in the area (Forlanini 2006).

stone mould for the production of shaft-hole axe found at Hirbemerdon Tepe suggests the existence of metal manufacturing and reinforce the possibility of a cultural contact with both the northern Syrian region and central Anatolia.

In addition, the analysis of contemporaneous local Middle Bronze Age sites in the area of the upper Tigris river valley demonstrates that many of these medium sized towns shared several important aspects. Moreover, tablets found at Giricano, a site located along east bank of the Tigris river valley nearby the modern town of Bismil, and dated to the Middle Assyrian period (*ca.* eleventh century BC) suggest the town functioned as a fortified centre controlling the agricultural lands surrounding it (a *dimtu* in Akkadian).<sup>78</sup> Ökse<sup>79</sup> interprets the archaeological record of the Middle Bronze Age in the upper Tigris River valley through the lens of this later written documents from Giricano and considers these small-to-medium size sites, including Hirbemerdon Tepe, functioned in the same manner and served the same purpose, watching over agricultural lands from high promontories overlooking the tributaries, storing agricultural surplus near monumental constructions and utilizing the Tigris river to communicate with each other. Moreover, the term *dimtu* is mentioned in Nuzi texts of the mid-second millennium BC 'Kingdom of Arraphe' and can indicate a 'landed estate', a 'fortress' and/or 'a settlement' in a rural agricultural context<sup>80</sup> According to Kolinski, the *dimatu* system appears as a typical element of a transformed socio-economic environment of the second millennium in which the centralised authorities of the principal Mesopotamian centers decided to grant small land estates to 'high courtiers in exchange for their duties in the administration'.<sup>81</sup> It is for these reasons that, starting from the early second millennium BC, the archaeological survey of rural regions shows an increase of smaller settlements.<sup>82</sup>

A similar geo-political landscape occurred probably in the upper Tigris region too. Here the communities inhabiting small-to-medium size sites shared common local cultural traits (the RBWW pottery assemblage) while engaging in interregional economic exchange. Within this perspective, the importance of corporate ties and extended kin networks no doubt played a large role in the organisation of this polity as well. The mixed pastoral and agricultural economy may have also acted as a buffer when northern Mesopotamia was experiencing a time of crisis at the end of the third mil-

<sup>78</sup> Radner 2004.

<sup>79</sup> Ökse 2006.

<sup>80</sup> Kolinski 2001, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> Kolinski 2001, p. 127.

<sup>82</sup> Kolinski 2001, pp. 64–88.

lennium BC,<sup>83</sup> allowing for a degree of cultural and economic continuity during this period. In addition, the distinct material culture found in numerous sites and its persistence through time seems to imply a reinforcement of local traditions during the Middle Bronze Age, and, furthermore, a form of conservatism that would have helped to reinforce forms of ideological resistance and corporate ties among the communities inhabiting the upper Tigris River valley.

In conclusion, the specialised nature of the site and the lack of domestic dwellings may indicate that the site was a ceremonial/production complex for local elites who ruled over corporate groups related through lineage and living in small hamlets scattered throughout the countryside. In this way, Hirbemerdon Tepe bears some similarity to sites in other areas of the world, such as ritual centers with low population densities that drew in larger numbers during special times of the year in which ceremonies were enacted, monuments built and surplus food and labour were extracted by elites counting on forms of ideological power.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Courty and Weiss 1997; Risvet and Weiss forthcoming.

<sup>84</sup> Earle 1997.

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## APPENDIX I

## Pottery Catalogue

Each entry is divided as follows: 1) Area; 2) Locus; 3) Class; 4) Description; 5) Colour (exterior); 6) Colour (interior); 7) Colour (section); 8) Inclusions; 9) Surface treatments and other characteristics; 10) Notes

**Fig. 6: 1** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Tray (?); 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Chaff, grits, mica.

**Fig. 6: 2** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Very pale brown — 10YR 7/3; 6-7) Pale brown — 10YR 6/3; 8) Chaff, grits, mica; 10) Low firing; Exterior surface black smudged from fire.

**Fig. 6: 3** — 1) B; 2) 21; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 6) Light red — 10R 6/8; 7) Brown/greyish; 8) Chaff, grits, mica; 10) Marks on the upper exterior wall.

**Fig. 6: 4** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Very pale yellow — 10YR 8/3; 6&7) Very pale yellow — 10YR 8/3; 8) Chaff, white grits.

**Fig. 6: 5** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Black; 8) Chaff, mica, grits (small); 9) Burnishing; 10) Irregular burnishing marks on the exterior surface.

**Fig. 6: 6** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse-medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 7) Black; 8) Chaff, grits, mica; 9) Burnishing; 10) Irregular burnishing marks on the exterior surface.

**Fig. 6: 7** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse-medium chaff and grit temper; 5) 5YR 6/4 — Light reddish brown; 6) Smudged; 8) Chaff, grits (granules), mica; 10) Marks on the exterior wall.

**Fig. 6: 8** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse-medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Reddish brown 5YR 5/4-7/6; 6) Reddish brown 5YR 5/4-6/6; 8) Chaff, mica, grits (in fracture); 9) Surface black smudged from fire.

**Fig. 6: 9** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Small bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; 6) Light red — 2.5 YR 6/6; 7) Brownish; 9) Smoothing; 10) Irregular rim and surface.

**Fig. 6: 10** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Small bowl; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6 — (Brown); 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3 — (Brown); (Brown); 8) Chaff, mica, quartz, sand; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 6: 11** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Hole-mouth jar; 4) Burnished Grey Ware. Wheel-made (?). Medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Grey — 2.5Y 6/1 (?); 6) Grey — 2.5Y 6/1 (?); 7) Black — grey; 8) Grits, chaff, mica; 9) Burnishing.

**Fig. 6: 12** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Encrusted — Maybe the same as colour (in); 6) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 6/6; 8) Chaff, grits.

**Fig. 6: 13** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking jar or casserole; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 8) Chaff, grits (granules), mica; 9) Exterior surface black smudged from fire;

**Fig. 6: 14** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Spouted jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 8) Grits (also small pebbles), chaff, mica; 9) Surface black smudged from fire.

**Fig. 7: 1** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking jar or casserole; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 7) Light grey; 8) Chaff, grits (granules and small pebbles), mica.

**Fig. 7: 2** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Reddish Brown — 5YR 5/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 7) Grey; 8) Chaff, grits (small pebbles); 10) Marks on the upper body.

**Fig. 7: 3** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar — Cooking pot; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6 — Red — 2.5YR 5/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6-7/6; 7) Grey; 8) Chaff, grits.

**Fig. 7: 4** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse-medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Red 2.5YR 5/6; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Brownish; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles), mica.

**Fig. 7: 5** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking jar (?); 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6-6/8; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 7) Grey; 8) Chaff, grits (small pebbles).

**Fig. 7: 6** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Brown 7.5YR 5/3; 8) Chaff, grits (small-medium pebbles); 9) Interior and exterior surfaces black smudged from fire.

**Fig. 8: 1** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar — Cooking pot.; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Red — 2.5YR 5/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 7) Blackish; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles), mica.

**Fig. 8: 2** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar — Cooking pot; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 7) Black; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles); 10) Low firing; Marks on exterior and interior surfaces; scraping.

**Fig. 8: 3** — 1) B; 2) 55; 3) Storage jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Encrusted; 6) Light Brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 8) Chaff, grits, mica; 9) Burnishing.

**Fig. 8: 4** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 6) Brown 7.5YR 5/4; 7) Black; 8) Chaff, grits (granules-small pebbles), mica.

**Fig. 8: 5** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; 6) Brown — 7.5YR 4/2; 7) Blackish; 8) Chaff, grits

**Fig. 8: 6** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Storage jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4 (?); 7) Grey tending to black; 8) Chaff, grit, mica; 10) Irregular rim; finger marks on the rim.

**Fig. 8: 7** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper.

**Fig. 9: 1** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Very pale brown — 10YR 7/3; 6) Very pale brown — 10YR 8/2; 7) Blackish; 8) Chaff, grits (small pebbles in fracture).



**Fig. 9: 2** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6-6/6; 6) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6-6/6; 8) Chaff, grits (small pebbles); 10) Low firing.

**Fig. 9: 3** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; 6) Reddish brown — 5YR 5/4; 7) Grey; 8) Chaff, grits (granules), mica.

**Fig. 9: 4** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Red — 2.5YR 5/6; 6) Brown — 7.5YR 5/4; 7) Black; 8) Chaff, grits (small granules), mica; 10) Low firing; irregular rim.

**Fig. 9: 5** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 8) Chaff, grits (small pebbles), mica; 9) Smoothing; 10) Low firing.

**Fig. 9: 6** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/4; 7) Grey; 8) Grits (small pebbles).

**Fig. 9: 7** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; 6) Reddish brown — 5YR 5/4; 7) Blackish; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles); 10) Fairly rough and irregular in shape.

**Fig. 10: 1** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Very pale brown — 10YR 8/3-8/4; 6) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6-6/6; 7) Reddish; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles).

**Fig. 10: 2** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff temper; 5) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6-6/6; Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6-6/6; 7) Grey; 8) Chaff, mica.

**Fig. 10: 3** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Jar; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 6) Pink 7.5YR 7/3; 7) Grey; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles); 10) Low firing; irregular rim.

**Fig. 10: 4** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Cooking pot or casserole; 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 6) Reddish brown — 5YR 6/6; 8) Chaff, grits (granules).

**Fig. 10: 5** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Tray (?); 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Very coarse chaff and grit temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 7) Greyish; 8) Chaff, grits (also small pebbles), mica; 10) Diameter: irregular. Fairly rough and irregular.

**Fig. 10: 6** — 1) B; 2) 21; 3) Basin (?); 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Coarse-medium chaff and grit temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 6) Greyish and brown; 8) Chaff, grits (granules), mica; 10) Low firing; irregular profile and rim.

**Fig. 10: 7** — 1) B; 2) 22; 3) Pot stand (?); 4) Chaff-Faced Ware. Handmade. Fairly rough and irregular. Very coarse straw and grit temper; 8) Chaff, grits, small pebbles; 10) Low firing; pierced holes along the vessel's body.

**Fig. 11: 1** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Bowl; 4) Dark Rimmed Orange Bowl. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/4; reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6 + (band) dark reddish brown — 5YR 3/3; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/4; reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 7) Pink — 5YR 7/4; 8) Sand, mica, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 2** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Bowl; 4) Dark Rimmed Orange Bowl. Wheel-made. Medium fine mineral and chaff temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6 + (band) red — 2.5YR 4/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; dark red — 2.5YR 3/6; 7) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 3** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Bowl; 4) Dark Rimmed Orange Bowl. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; dark reddish grey — 5YR 4/2 + (band) red — 2.5YR 4/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; dark reddish grey — 5YR 4/2 and reddish grey — 5YR 5/2; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 4** — 1) B; 2) 50; 3) Bowl; 4) Dark Rimmed Orange Bowl. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; dark reddish grey — 5YR 4/2 + (band) red — 2.5YR 4/6; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; dark reddish — 5YR 4/2 grey and reddish grey — 5YR 5/2; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 5** — 1) B; 2) 50; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; dusky red — 10R 3/3 and red — 10R 4/8; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; light red — 10R 6/6; 7) Light red — 10R 6/6; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 6** — 1) B; 2) 37; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5 6/6; red — 2.5YR 4/8; 6) Light red — 2.5 6/6; red — 2.5YR 4/8; 7) Grey 7.5YR 5/1 and light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 7** — 1) B; 2) 50; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; pink — 5YR 7/4; 7) Dark grey — 5YR 4/1; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 8** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; red — 2.5YR 4/6 and reddish brown — 4/4; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; red — 2.5YR 4/6; 7) Light reddish brown — 2.5 6/4; 8) Sand and mica, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 11: 9** — 1) B; 2) 55; 3) Cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; reddish black — 10R 2.5/1 and red — 4/6; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; 7) Reddish black — 10R 2.5/1 and red — 4/6; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles.

**Fig. 12: 1** — 1) B; 2) 29; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/3; reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/3; reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 7) Pink — 5YR 7/3; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 2** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; reddish brown — 2.5YR 4/4; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; reddish brown — 2.5YR 4/4; 7) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; 8) Sand and mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 3** — 1) B; 2) 36; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; dark reddish brown — 2.5YR 3/4; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 7) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 4** — 1) B; 2) 36; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; dusky red — 10R 3/3; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; pink 7.5R 7/4; 7) Red — 10R 4/6; 8) Calcareous particles, sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 5** — 1) B; 2) 36; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR; red — 2.5YR 4/6; 2.5YR 6/6 light red; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 6** — 1) B; 2) 36; 3) Jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/3; reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/3; reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 7) Pink — 5YR 7/3; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 7** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/3; reddish brown — 2.5YR 4/4; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/3; reddish brown — 2.5YR 4/4; 7) Light red — 10R 6/6; 8) Sand mica, calcareous particles, sporadic chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 12: 8** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Bowl; 4) Grey Burnished Ware. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4 and grey -7.5YR 5/1; 6) Light greenish grey — GLEY 1 7/5GY; 7) Dark grey — 7.5YR 4/1; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica, few grits; 9) Traces of burnishing.

**Fig. 12: 9** — 1) B; 2) 29; 3) Hole-mouth bowl; 4) Grey Burnished Ware. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Greenish grey — GLEY 1 5/N; 6) Light greenish grey — GLEY 1 7/5GY; 7) Greenish grey — GLEY 1 5/N; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Burnishing.

**Fig. 12: 10** — 1) B; 2) 47; 3) Jar; 4) Grey Burnished Ware. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Greenish grey — GLEY 1 5/N; Grey — GLEY 1 5/N; 6) Dark grey — GLEY 1 4/N; 8) Sand, mica, chaff, sporadic grits; 9) Smoothing and burnishing.

**Fig. 12: 11** — 1) B; 2) 36; 3) Jar; 4) Cooking Ware. Medium-coarse mineral temper; 5) Reddish brown -5YR 10/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 7) Light brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 8) Sand, grit, mica; 9) Burnishing.

**Fig. 13: 1** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light red 10R — 6/6; dusky red — 10R 3/2 and light red — 10R 6/8; 6) Light red 10R — 6/6; dusky red — 10R 3/2 and light red — 10R 6/8; 7) Pink — 5YR 8/3; 8) Sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 13: 2** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral and chaff temper; 5) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; yellowish red — 5YR 4/6; 6) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; yellowish red — 5YR 4/6; 7) Yellowish red — 5YR 4/6; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica, chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 13: 3** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral and chaff temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; red — 10R 5/8; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; strong brown — 5YR 4/6; 7) Strong brown — 5YR 5/6; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica, sporadic chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 13: 4** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Deep bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 7) Red — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica, sporadic grits.

**Fig. 13: 5** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral and chaff temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 8/4; 2.5YR 4/4 reddish

brown; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 8/4; reddish yellow — 7.5YR 6/6; 7) Weak red — 2.5YR 5/2; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles, sporadic chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 13: 6** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles, sporadic chaff.

**Fig. 13: 7** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Storage jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/4; reddish brown — 2.5YR 4/4; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/4; reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6 and shades reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6; 7) Greenish grey — GLEY1 5/1; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles, chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 13: 8** — 1) A; 2) 178; 3) Storage jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; red — 10R 4/6 and pale red — 10R 6/3; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; pale red — 10R 6/3; 7) Very dark bluish grey — GLEY2 3/5PB; 8) Chaff, sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 14: 1** — 1) A; 2) 132; 3) Cooking pot; 4) Cooking Ware. Wheel-made. Coarse mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 7) Black — GLEY1 2.5/1; 8) Grits, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Firing traces on the lower part of the body.

**Fig. 14: 2** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Cooking pot; 4) Cooking Ware. Wheel-made. Coarse mineral temper; 5) Red — 10R 5/6; 6) Red — 10R 5/6; 7) Red — 10R 5/6; dark reddish grey — 10R 3/1; 8) Grits, sand, calcites, quartz; 9) Light burnishing; 10) Triangular lugs are visible along the rim. Firing traces on the lower part of the body.

**Fig. 14: 3** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Storage jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral and chaff temper; 5) Brown 7.5YR 5/4; reddish brown — 5YR 4/4; 6) Brown 7.5YR 5/4; reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 7) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/4; Sand, calcareous particles, mica, sporadic chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 14: 4** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Storage jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; very dark grey — 5YR 3/1; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; black — 5YR 2.5/1; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1 and dark reddish grey — 5YR 4/2; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, sporadic mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 14: 5** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Storage jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Dark reddish grey — 2.5YR 4/1; very dark grey — 5YR 3/1; 6) Black — 5YR 2.5/1; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1 and dark reddish grey — 5YR 4/2; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, sporadic mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 15: 1** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Storage jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/6; yellowish red — 5YR 5/6; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/6; 7) Grey — 5YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, sand, mica, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 15: 2** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Pot stand; 4) Cooking Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-coarse mineral temper; 5) Grey — 5YR 5/1; 6) Light reddish brown — 5YR 6/3; 7) Dark grey — GLEY1 4/N; 8) Grits, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 10) The object has three sub-circular holes on the wall.

**Fig. 15: 3** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/4; colour variation out: red

— 10R 4/6, reddish black — 2.5YR 2.5/1, light red — 10R 7/8; 6) Reddish grey — 2.5YR 5/1; light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/3; 7) Dark reddish grey — 10R 4/1; 8) Sand-calcareous particles-mica; 9) Smoothing

**Fig. 15: 4** — 1) A; 2) 85; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made.

**Fig. 16: 1** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Dark Reddish Grey — 10R 3/1; red — 2.5YR 5/8; 6) Dark Reddish Grey — 10R 3/1; red — 10R 4/8; 7) Reddish Grey 10R 6/1 and light red 10R 6/8; 8) Chaff, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Slight bur-nishing.

**Fig. 16: 2** — 1) A; 2) 204; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; red — 2.5YR 5/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; red — 2.5YR 5/6; 7) Reddish grey — 2.5YR 5/1; 8) Cal-careous particles, sand, grits, mica, chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 3** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Deep bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; red — 2.5YR 4/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; light red — 2.5YR 7/8; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/8; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 4** — 1) A; 2) 205; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/8; dusky red — 10R 3/4 and light red — 10R 7/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/8; dusky red — 10R 3/4 and light red — 10R 7/6; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing; 10) The rim is characterised by a bi-chrome variation.

**Fig. 16: 5** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made; 5) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; black — 7.5YR 2.5/1; 6) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; light reddish brown — 2.5YR 6/4; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Grits, sand, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 6** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/6; strong brown — 7.5YR 4/6; 6) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/6; red — 10R 4/8; 7) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/8 and grey — 10YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing; 10) The inner slip/wash is almost invisible.

**Fig. 16: 7** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; red — 10R 4/8; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; pink — 2.5YR 8/4; Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 8** — 1) A; 2) 184; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made.; red — 10R 4/6, reddish black — 2.5YR 2.5/1, light red — 10R 7/8; 6) Light red — 10R 6/6; light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/3; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 8) Sand, mica, cal-careous particles.

**Fig. 16: 9** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; reddish brown — 2.5YR 5/3; 7) Dark reddish grey — 2.5YR 4/1; 8) Chaff, sand, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 10** — 1) A; 2) 171; 3) Cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral temper; 5) Pink — 5YR 7/3; pink — 5YR 7/4; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/3; pink — 5YR 7/4; 7) Reddish yellow — 5YR 6/6; 8) Sand, mica; 9) Traces of bur-nishing.

**Fig. 16: 11** — 1) A; 2) 217; 3) Cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown 2.5YR 7/4; 2.5YR 6/8 light red and dark grey — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 4/N; 6) Light reddish brown 2.5YR 7/4; red — 2.5YR 4/8; 7) Grey — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 5/N; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica.

**Fig. 16: 12** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; red — 2.5YR 5/8; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; light red — 2.5YR 7/8; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 13** — 1) A; 2) 273; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Fine mineral and chaff temper; 5) light red — 2.5YR 7/6; red — 10R 4/8 and dark reddish brown — 2.5YR 3/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 7.5 dark brown — 3/2; 7) Light red — 10R 6/6; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica, chaff; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 14** — 1) A; 2) 85; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; strong brown — 7.5YR 5/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; yellowish red — 5YR 5/6; 7) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 16: 15** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; yellowish red — 5YR 5/4 yellowish red; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, mica, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing; 10) Colour variation (out) due to firing techniques.

**Fig. 17: 1** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; dusky red — 2.5YR 3/2; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; dusky red — 2.5YR 3/2; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 17: 2** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; reddish black — 10R 2.5/1; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; reddish black — 10R 2.5/1; 7) 7) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/8 and grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 17: 3** — 1) A; 2) 85; 3) Carinated cup; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink -7.5YR 7/4; light brown — 7.5YR 6/4 and brown — 7.5 YR 5/2; 6) Pink -7.5YR 7/4; brown — 7.5YR 4/2; 7) Reddish brown — 2.5 YR 5/3; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles.

**Fig. 17: 4** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Beaker; 4) Grey Burnished Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Dark grey — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 4/N and dark greenish grey — 4/1; 6) Grey — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 6/N; 7) Grey — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 5/N; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing and burnishing.

**Fig. 17: 5** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; black — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 2.5/N; 6) Dark reddish brown 5YR 2.5/2; 7) Black — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 2.5/N and greenish grey — GLEY<sub>1</sub> 5/5G; 8) Chaff, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 17: 6** — 1) A; 2) 280; 3) Bottle; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; red — 2.5YR



4/8; 6) Red — 2.5YR 4/8; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 18: 1** — 1) A; 2) 22; 3) Squat carinated jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; very dark grey — GLEY1 3/N; 7) Black GLEY1 2.5/N; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 18: 2** — 1) A; 2) 85; 3) Squat carinated jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Red — 10R 4/8; very dusky red — 10R 2.5/2; 6) Red — 10R 4/8; yellowish red — 5YR 5/6; 7) Reddish yellow — 7.5 7/6; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 18: 3** — 1) A; 2) 85; 3) Carinated bowl; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine chaff and mineral temper; 5) Red — 10R 5/8; dusky red — 10R 3/4; 6) Reddish black — 10R 2.5/1; dark reddish brown — 5YR 3/2; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 18: 4** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Squat jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; reddish black — 10R 2.5/1; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; light red — 10R 7/8; 7) Light red — 10R 6/8 and reddish grey — 5YR 5/2; 8) Chaff, sporadic calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing and burnishing.

**Fig. 18: 5** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Squat carinated jar; 4) Red Brown Wash Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; reddish black — 10R 2.5/1; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/6; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6 and reddish grey — 2.5YR 6/1; 8) Chaff, sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 19: 1** — 1) A; 2) 206; 3) Jar; 4) Grey Burnished Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Greenish grey — GLEY 1 5/10Y; 6) Greenish grey — GLEY 1 6/10Y; 7) Dark grey — GLEY1 4/N; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing

**Fig. 19: 2;** 1) A; 2) 24; 3) Jar; 4) Pseudo-Khabur Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; pink — 5YR 7/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/8; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 19: 3** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Jar; 4) Pseudo-Khabur Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Red 10R 4/6; light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 19: 4** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Jar; 4) Pseudo-Khabur Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Grey — 2.5Y 6/1; dark grey — 7.5YR 4/1; 6) Light yellowish brown — 2.5Y 6/3; 7) Grey — 2.5Y 6/1; 8) Chaff, sand, sporadic calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 19: 5** — 1) A; 2) 225; 3) Jar; 4) Pseudo-Khabur Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink 7.5YR 7/4; dark red — 10R 3/6 and light red — 2.5R 7/6; 6) Light red — 10R 7/8; dark red 10R 3/6; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 8) Chaff, sporadic calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 20: 1** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 7.5 YR 7/4; 6) Grey — 7.5 YR 5/1; 7) Grey — 7.5 YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, few mica; 9) Traces of vertical burnishing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 20: 2** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Grey Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-coarse mineral temper; 5) Brown 7.5YR 5/3 and shades dark grey -7.5YR 4/1; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 7) Brown — 7.5YR 5/2; 8) Sand, calcareous particles and some grits; 9) Burnishing.

**Fig. 20: 3** — 1) A; 2) 238; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Coarse mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 7) Reddish grey — 2.5YR 6/1; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, grits, chaff; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 20: 4** — 1) A; 2) 238; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6 and light grey — 5YR 7/1; 6) Light red — 2.5 YR 6/8; 7) Very dark grey — GLEY1 3/N; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, grits, mica; 9) Cream slip, rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 20: 5** — 6) A; 2) 179; 3) Cup/beaker; 4) Painted Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; light red — 2.5YR 6/8; 6) Pink — 7.5 YR 7/4; 7) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing; 10) Painted bird in Late Khaur style (2.5YR 3/4 dark reddish brown).

**Fig. 20: 6** — 1) A; 2) 230; 3) Jar; 4) Painted Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Very pale brown 10R 8/2; dark red — 10R 3/6; 6) Very pale brown — 10R 8/2; 7) Very pale brown — 10R 8/2; 8) Sand, mica; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 20: 7** — 1) A; 2) 230; 3) Jar; 4) Painted Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Light grey — 10YR 7/2; 10YR 3/1 very dark grey; 6) Light grey — 10YR 7/2 l; 7) Grey — 10YR 5/1; 8) Sand, chaff, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Rough smoothing.

**Fig. 20: 8** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6 and pink -2.5 YR 8/4; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6 and pink 2.5 YR 8/4; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/6; 8) Chaff, mica, sand, calcareous particles; 9) Smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 20: 9** — 1) A; 2) 170; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Wheel-made. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 10R 6/6; 6) Pale red — 10R 6/4; 7) Reddish grey — 10R 6/1; 8) Chaff, calcareous, mica; 9) Smoothing; 10) Late Neo-Assyrian?

**Fig. 20: 10** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, grits; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 21: 1** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Painted Ware. Wheel-made. Medium fine mineral temper; 5) Light red — 7.5 YR 7/6; red 10R 5/8; 6) Reddish brow — 2.5YR 5/4; 7) Reddish grey — 2.5YR 6/1; 8) Sand, mica, few grits; 9) Smoothing; 10) Painted decoration. Late Iron Age?

**Fig. 21: 2** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 8/3; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, grits; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.



**Fig. 21: 3** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/6; 6) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/6; 7) Reddish yellow — 7.5YR 7/6; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, grits; 9) Smoothing.

**Fig. 21: 4** — 1) A; 2) 179; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 6) Pink — 5YR 7/3; 7) Grey — GLEY1 5/N; 8) Chaff, grits, calcareous particles; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 21: 5** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; 6) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; 7) Dark reddish grey — 2.5YR 4/1; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, chaff, mica, grits; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 21: 6** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Bowl; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pale red — 10R 6/4 and shades weak red -10R 4/3; 6) Light red — 10R 6/8; 7) Reddish grey — 10R 5/1; 8) Chaff, sand, mica, sporadic grits; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 21: 7** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse mineral and chaff temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6 and grey — GLEY1 5/N; 8) Grits, sand, calcareous particles, mica, chaff; 9) In-burnishing; out-smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 21: 8** — 1) A; 2) 222; Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Dark grey — 7.5YR 4/1; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica, grits, chaff; Rough smoothing.

**Fig. 21: 9** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 8/3; 6) Pinkish grey — 7.5YR 7/2; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Chaff, sand, sporadic grits; 9) Smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 1** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 7) Very dark grey — GLEY1 3/N; 8) Chaff, grit, calcareous particles, mica; 9) Smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 2** — 1) A; 2) 170; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pinkish grey — 7.5YR 7/2; 6) Pinkish grey — 7.5YR 7/2; 7) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 8) Chaff, sporadic grit, sand; 9) Rough smoothing.

**Fig. 22: 3** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6 and red — 2.5YR 5/6; 6) Light red — 2.5YR 7/6; 7) Reddish yellow — 5YR 7/6; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, sporadic grit and mica; 9) Smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 4** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Wheel-made. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) 10YR 7/2 light grey; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Sand, chaff, grits, sporadic mica; 9) Rough smoothing.

**Fig. 22: 5** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) 7.5YR 8/3 pink; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, grits; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 6** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Grey Ware. Handmade. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Brown — 7.5YR 5/3 and shades dark grey — 7.5YR 4/1; 6) Light brown — 7.5YR 6/3; 7) Brown — 7.5YR 5/2; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, grits; 9) Burnishing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 7** — 1) A; 2) 174; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium mineral and chaff temper; 5) Pinkish grey — 7.5YR 7/2; 6) Pinkish grey — 7.5YR 7/2; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 5/1; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, mica, chaff, sporadic grits; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 8** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Bowl; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 7.5 YR 7/4; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, mica, grit; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 9** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Hole-mouth jar; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse mineral temper; 5) Weak red — 2.5YR 4/2; 6) Reddish brown — 2.5YR 4/3; 7) Reddish brown — 2.5YR 5/4; 8) Sand, calcareous particles, sporadic grits; 9) Burnishing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 10** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Hole-mouth jar; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium-coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Grey — 7.5YR 6/1; 8) Chaff, sand, calcareous particles, mica, some grits; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 11** — 1) A; 2) 222; 3) Hole-mouth jar; 4) Grooved Ware. Handmade. Medium chaff and mineral temper; 5) Pinkish grey — 7.5YR 7/2; 6) Pink — 7.5YR 7/4; 7) Very dark grey — GLEY1 3/N; 8) Calcareous particles, sand, chaff, mica; 9) Rough smoothing; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 12** — 1) A; 2) 170; 3) Jar; 4) Plain Ware. Handmade. Coarse chaff and mineral temper; 5) Reddish brown — 2.5YR 5/4; 6) Reddish brown — 2.5YR 5/4; 7) Reddish grey — 2.5YR 6/1; 8) Chaff, calcareous particles, grits; 10) Probably finished on the wheel.

**Fig. 22: 13** — 1) A; 2) 170; 3) Jar; 4) Painted Ware. Wheel-made. Medium-fine mineral temper; 5) Light reddish brown — 2.5YR 7/4; 6) Dark reddish brown — 2.5YR 3/4 and 2.5YR 3/4 — dark reddish brown; 7) Light red — 2.5YR 6/8; Reddish grey — 2.5YR 6/1; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles, grits; 9) Smoothing; 10) The inner surface is soapy. Late Iron Age.

**Fig. 22: 14** — 1) A; 2) 218; 3) Little bottle; 4) Glazed Ware. Fine mineral temper; 5) Pale yellow — 2.5Y 7/3; glaze: pale green — GLEY 1 7/5G; 6) Pale yellow — 2.5Y 7/3; 7) Pale yellow — 2.5Y 7/3; 8) Sand, mica, calcareous particles; 10) Medieval period.

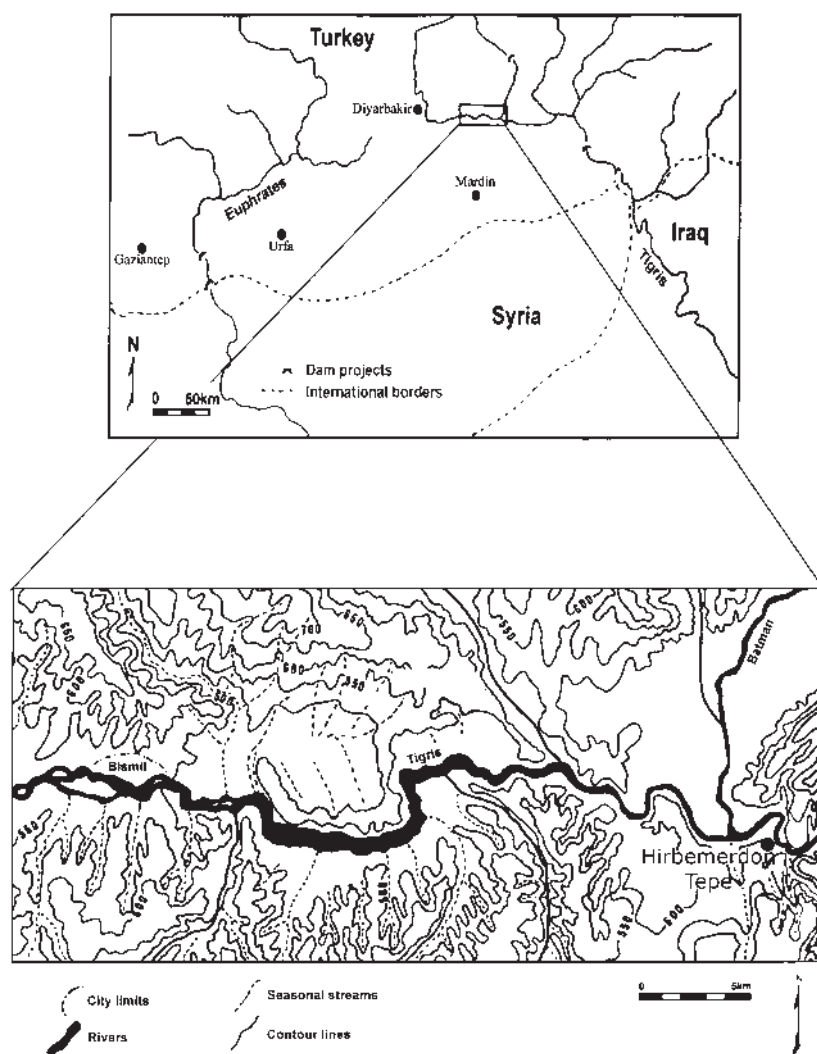
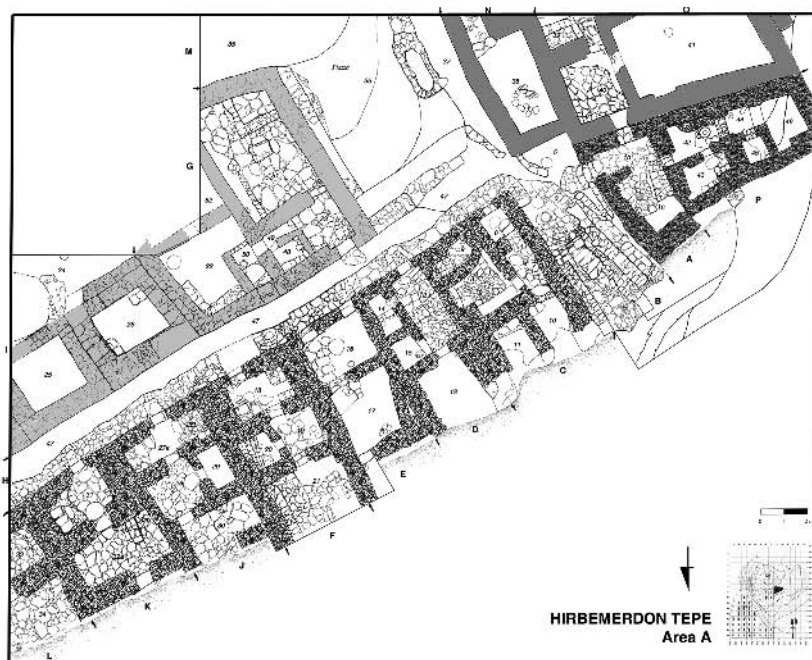


Fig. 1 – Map of the upper Tigris river valley showing the location of Hirbemerdon Tepe.



1



2

Fig. 2 –1. Hirbermerdon Tepe, view of the High Mound and the Tigris river from northwest; 2. The Middle Bronze Age 'Architectural complex' located in the High Mound (Area A).



Fig. 3 – 1. View of the 'architectural complex' from west that highlights its main alleyway; 2. A votive clay plaque found in the *piazza* of the 'architectural complex'; 3. A clay human figurine found in the *piazza* of the 'architectural complex'.



1



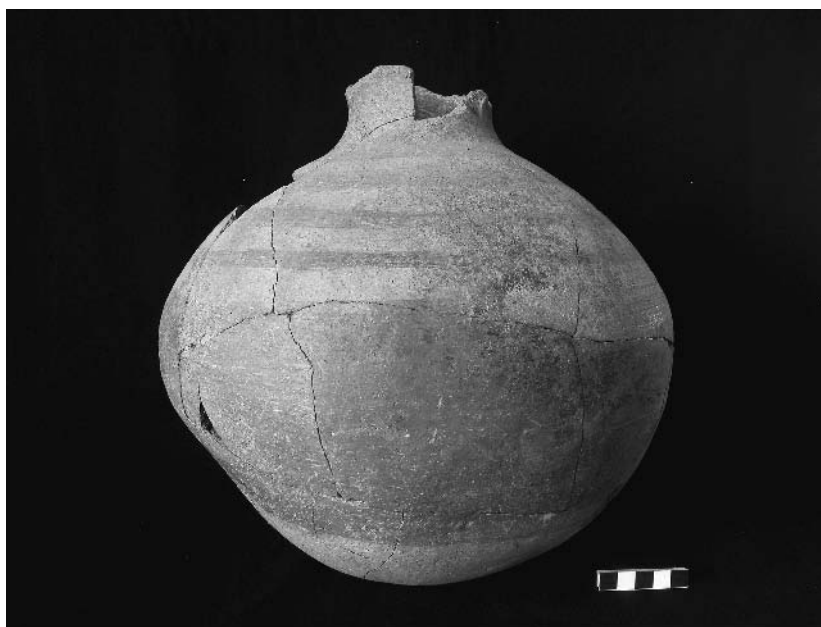
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Fig. 4. – 1. Head of a human figurine; 2. Half of a stone mold for the production of shaft-hole axes; 3. Fragment of a decorated portable hearth.





1



2

Fig. 5 – 1. A reconstructed example of 'Pseudo-Khabur' Ware; 2. Plan of the early second millennium BC remains of the architectural features discovered in the Outer Town (Area B).

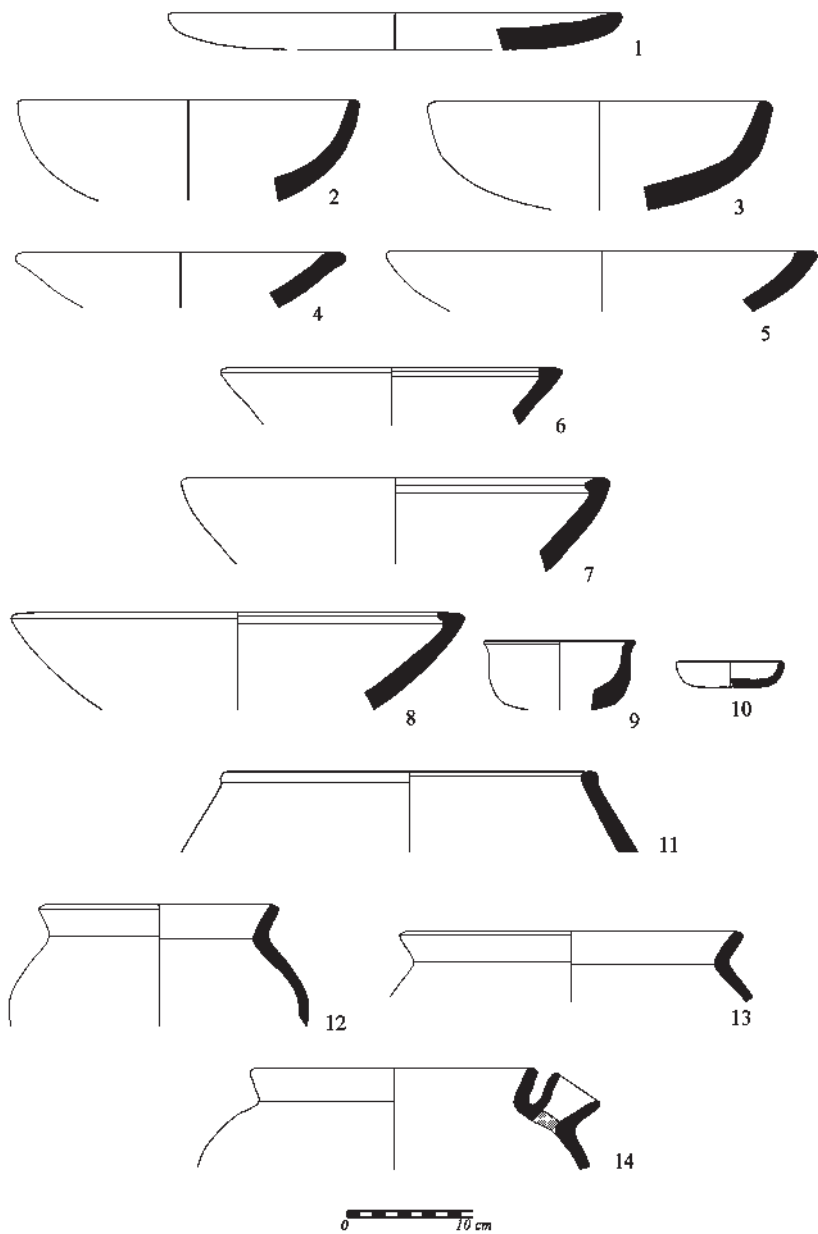


Fig. 6 — Drawings of the pottery assemblage belonging to the Late Chalcolithic from Area B.



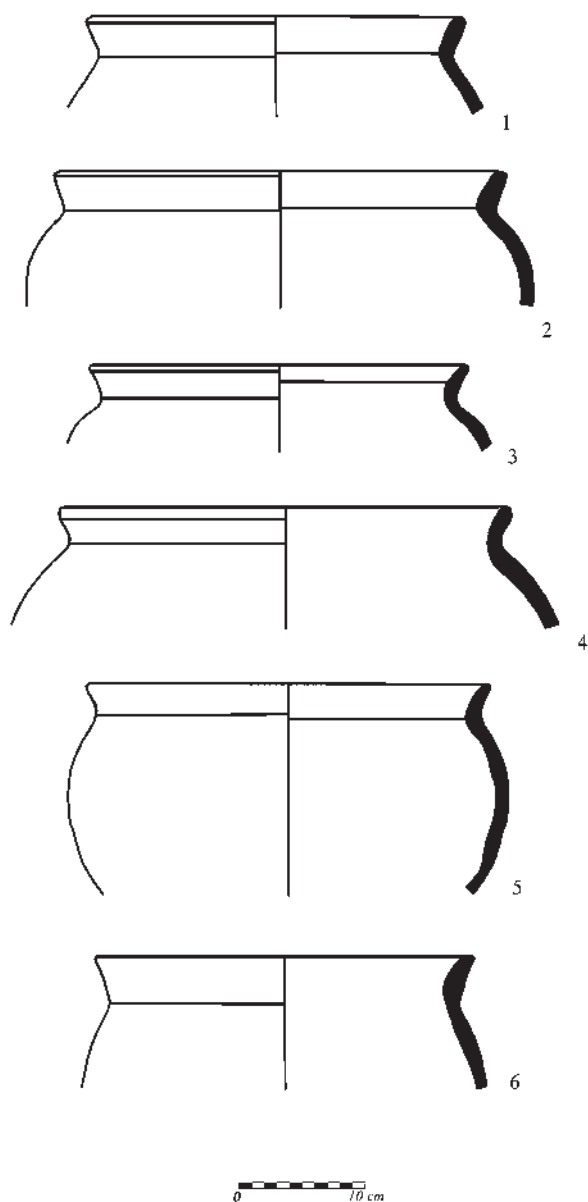


Fig. 7 — Drawings of the pottery assemblage belonging to the Late Chalcolithic from Area B.

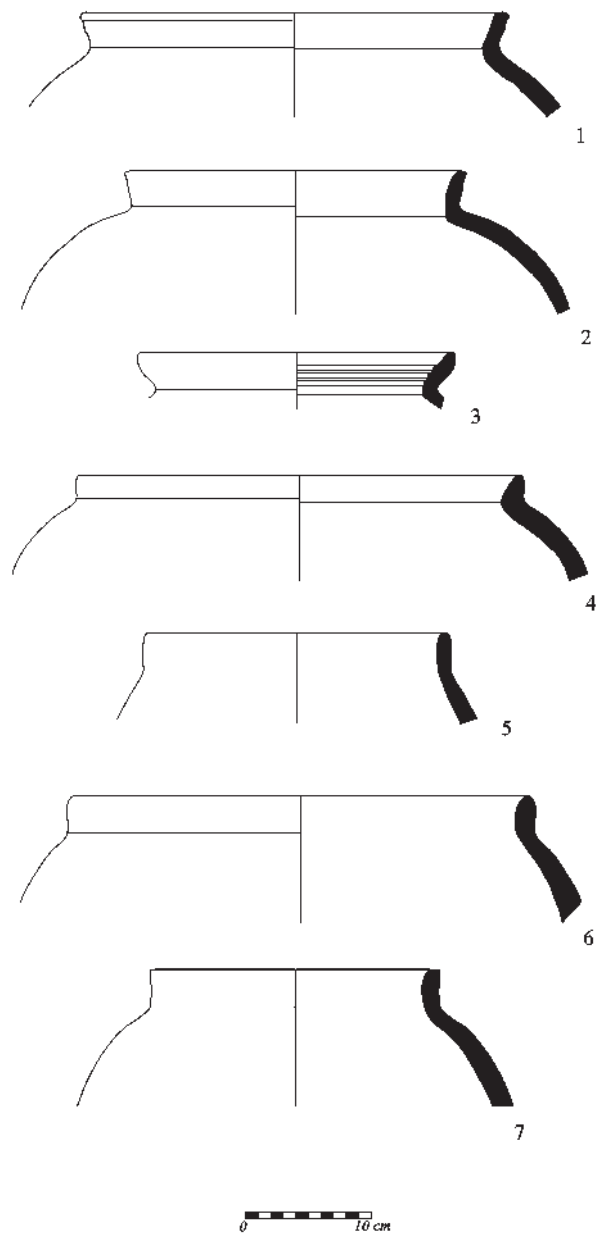


Fig. 8 — Drawings of the pottery assemblage belonging to the Late Chalcolithic from Area B.

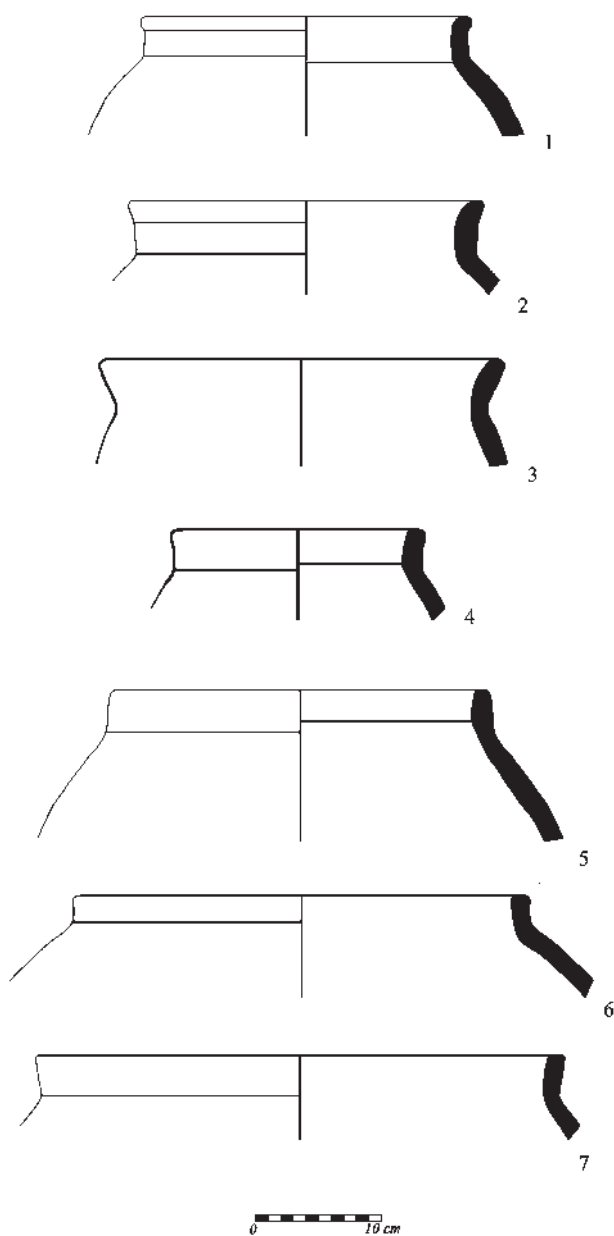


Fig. 9 — Drawings of the pottery assemblage belonging to the Late Chalcolithic from Area B.

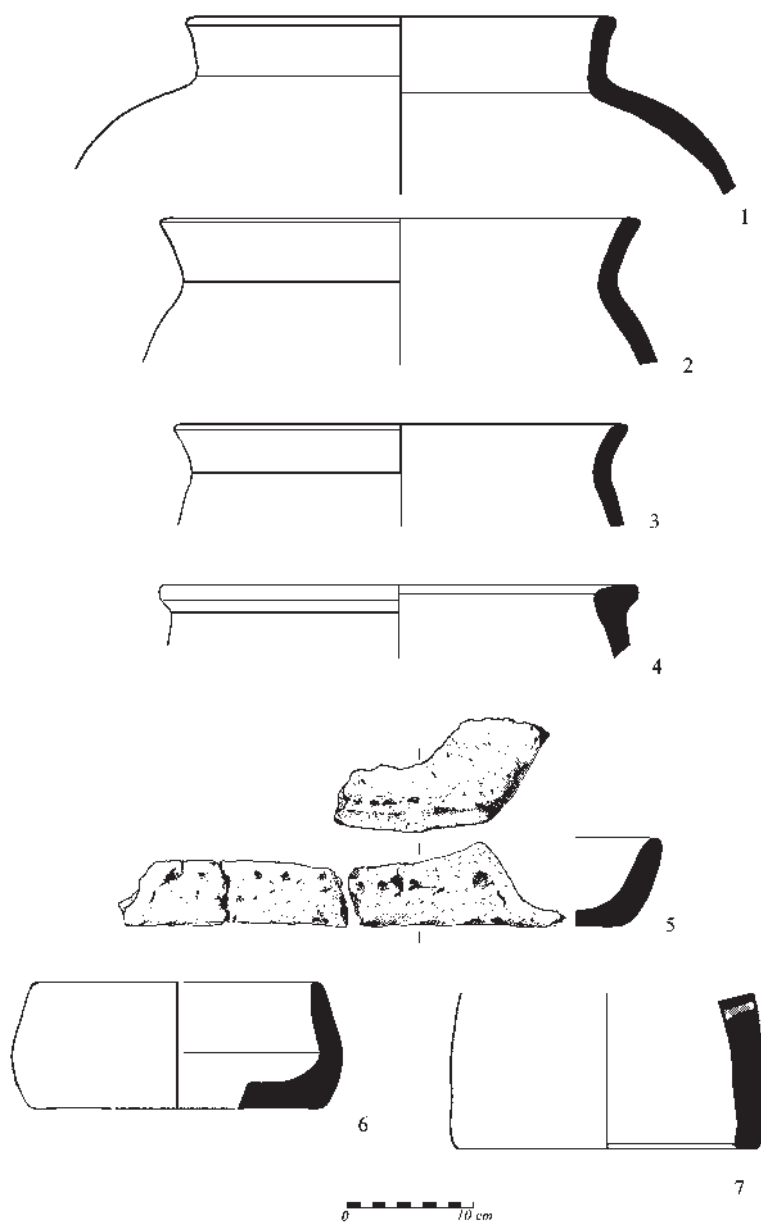


Fig. 10 — Drawings of the pottery assemblage belonging to the Late Chalcolithic from Area B.

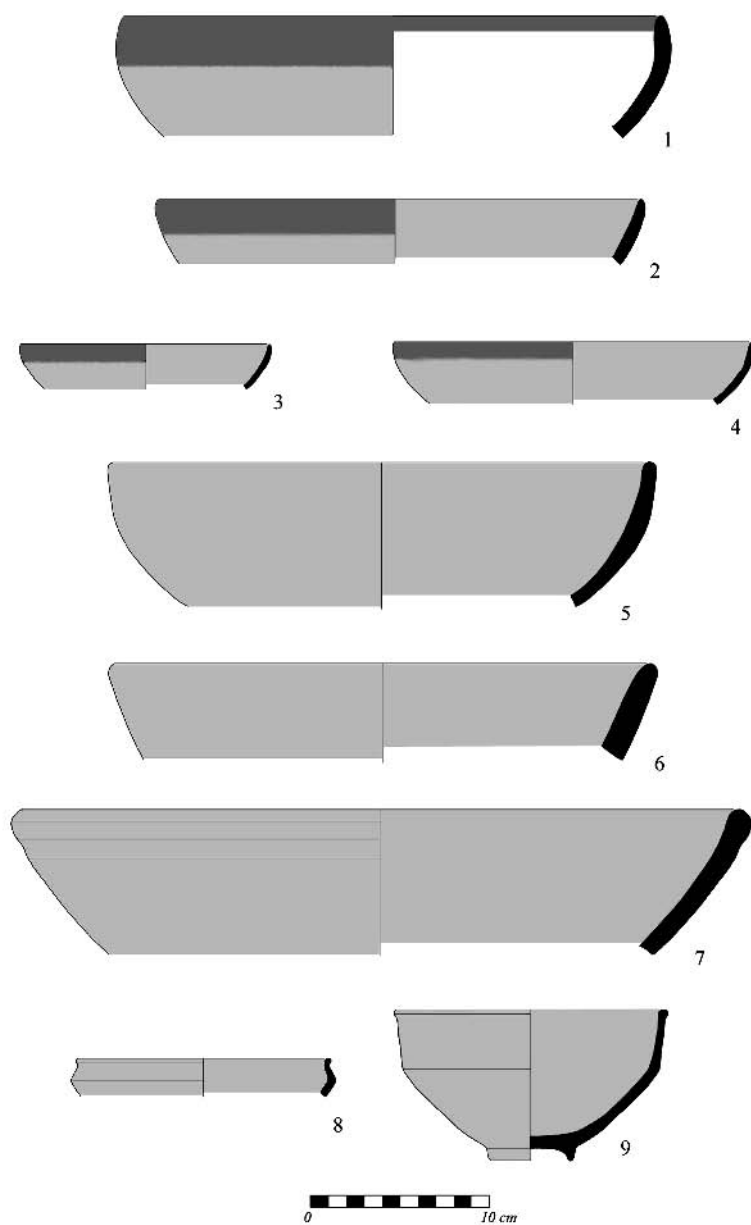


Fig. 11 — Drawings of Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls (n. 1-4) and Red-Brown Wash Ware (n. 5-9) from Area B.

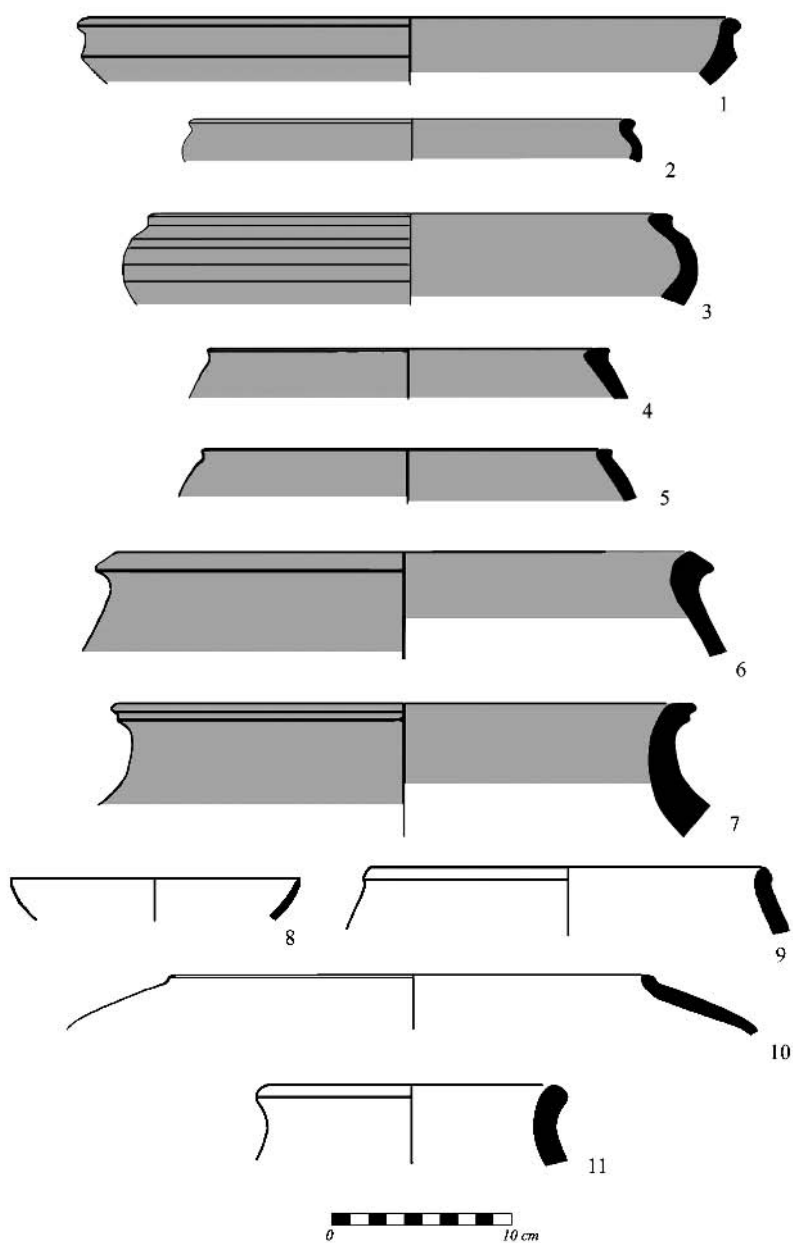


Fig. 12 — Drawings of Red Brown Wash Ware (n. 1-7), Grey Burnished Ware (n. 1-10) and Cooking Ware (n. 11) from Area B.

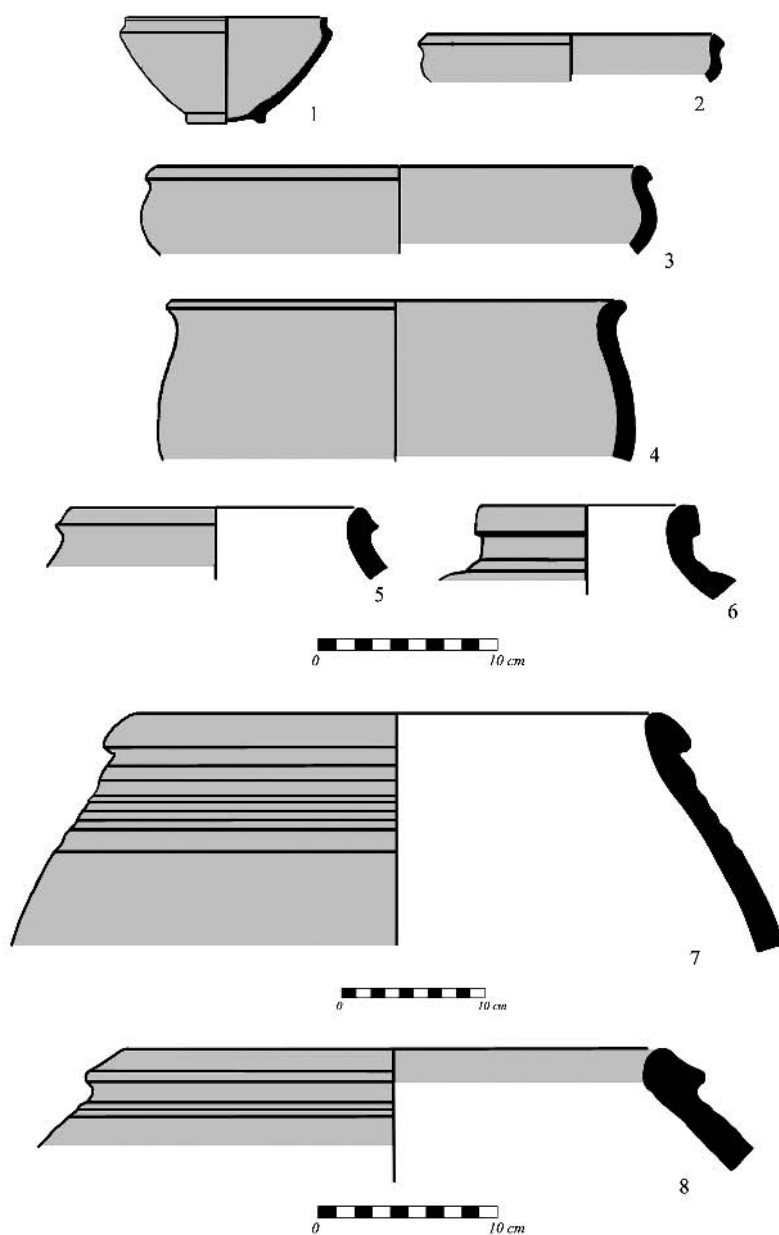


Fig. 13 — Drawings of Red Brown Wash Ware from Area A.

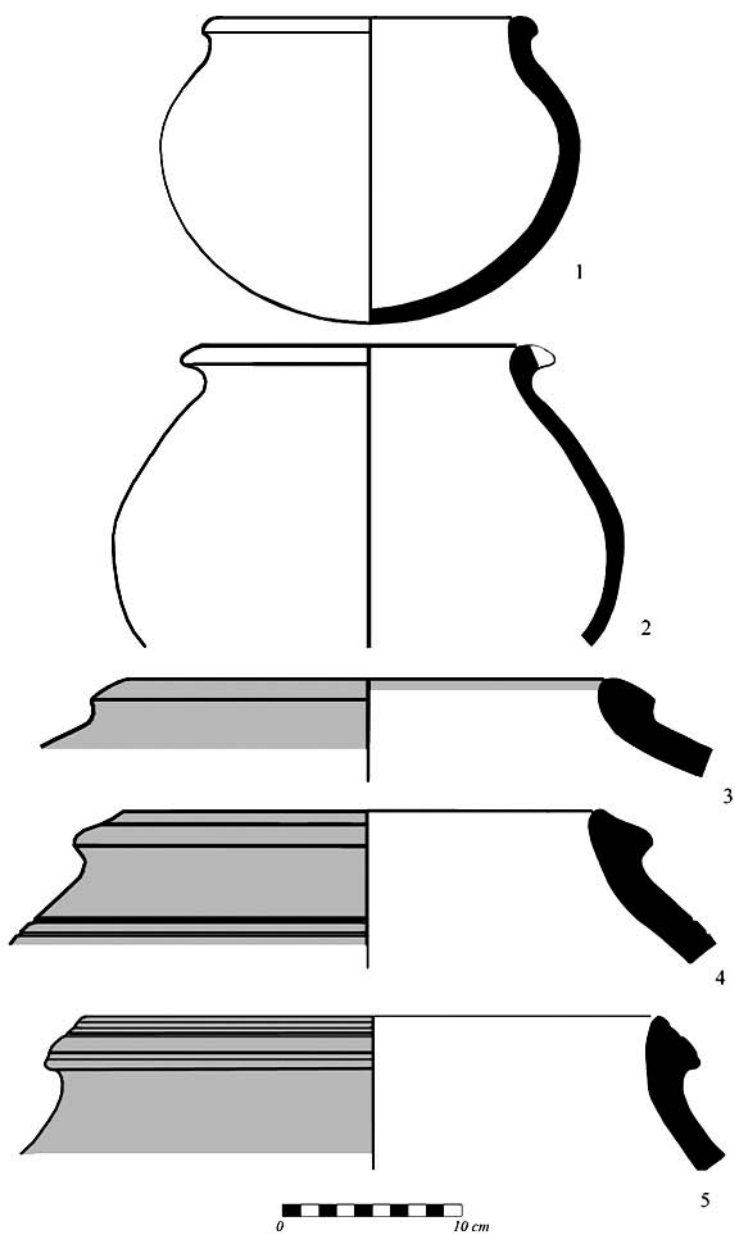


Fig. 14 — Drawings of Cooking Ware (n. 1-2) and Red Brown Wash Ware (n. 3-5) from Area A.



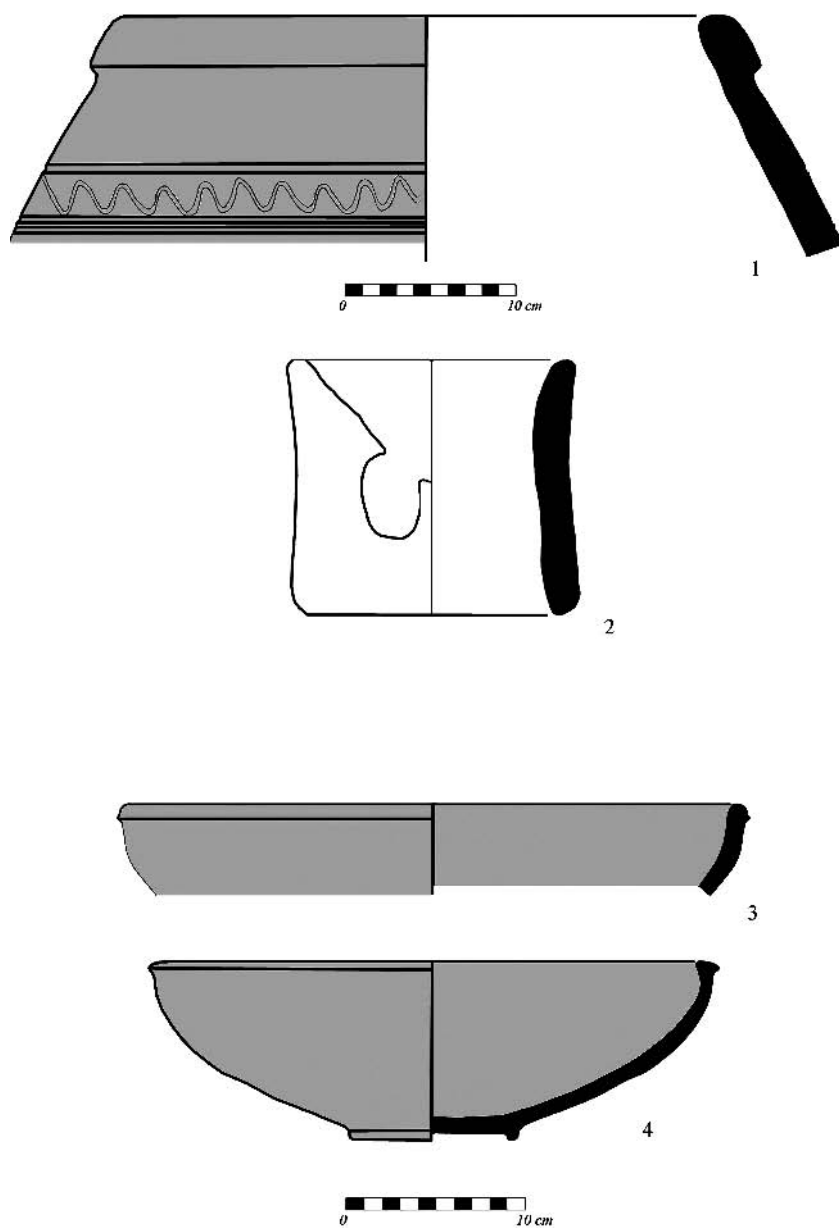


Fig. 15 — Drawings of Red Brown Wash Ware (n. 1, 3-4) and Cooking Ware (n. 2) from Area A.

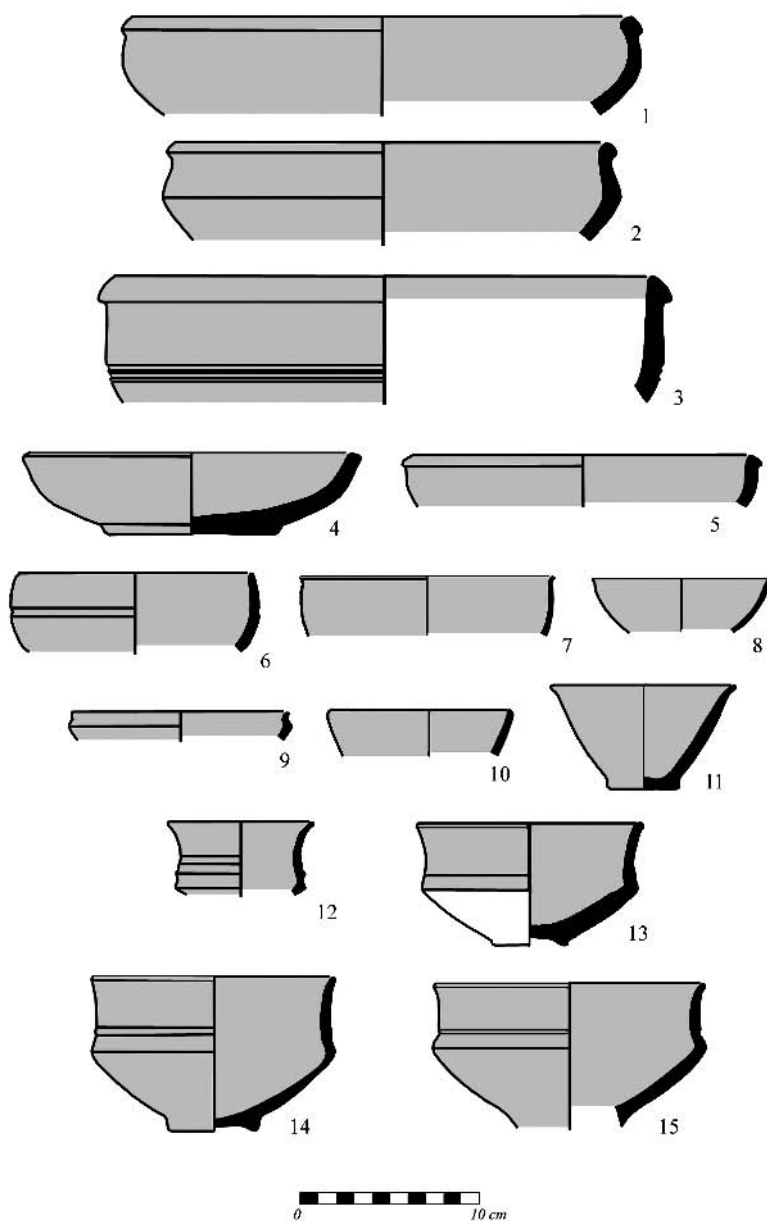


Fig. 16 — Drawings of Red Brown Wash Ware from Area A.

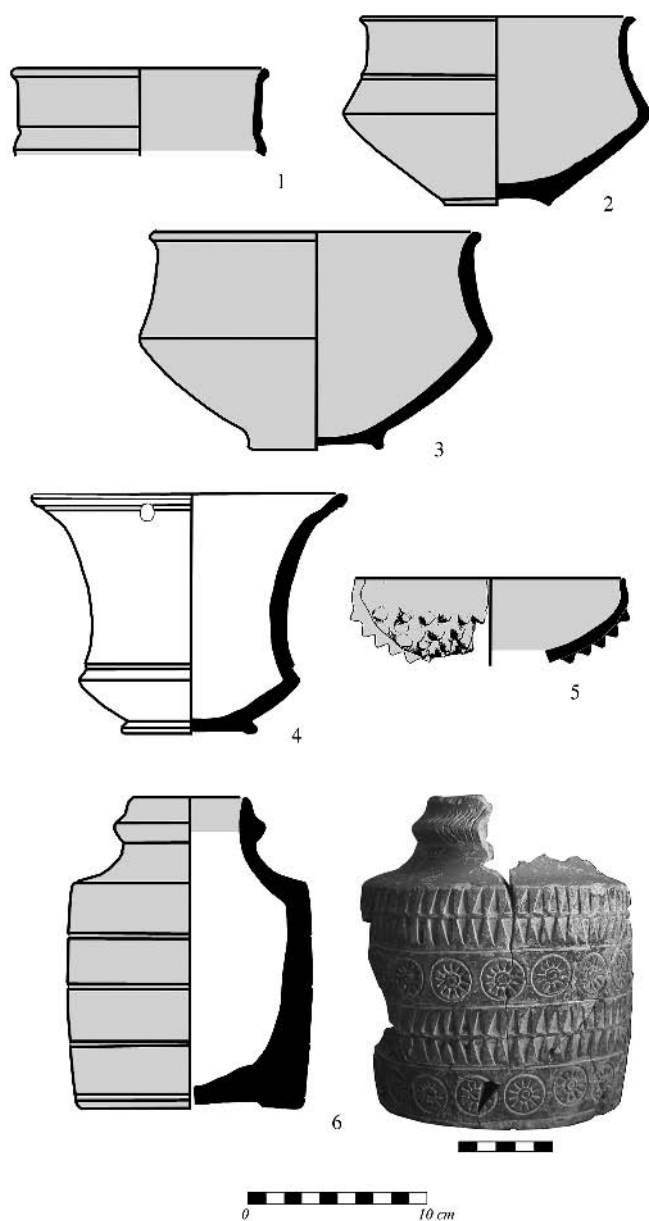


Fig. 17 — Drawings of Red Brown Wash Ware (n. 1-3, 5, 6) and Grey Burnished Ware (n. 4) from Area A.

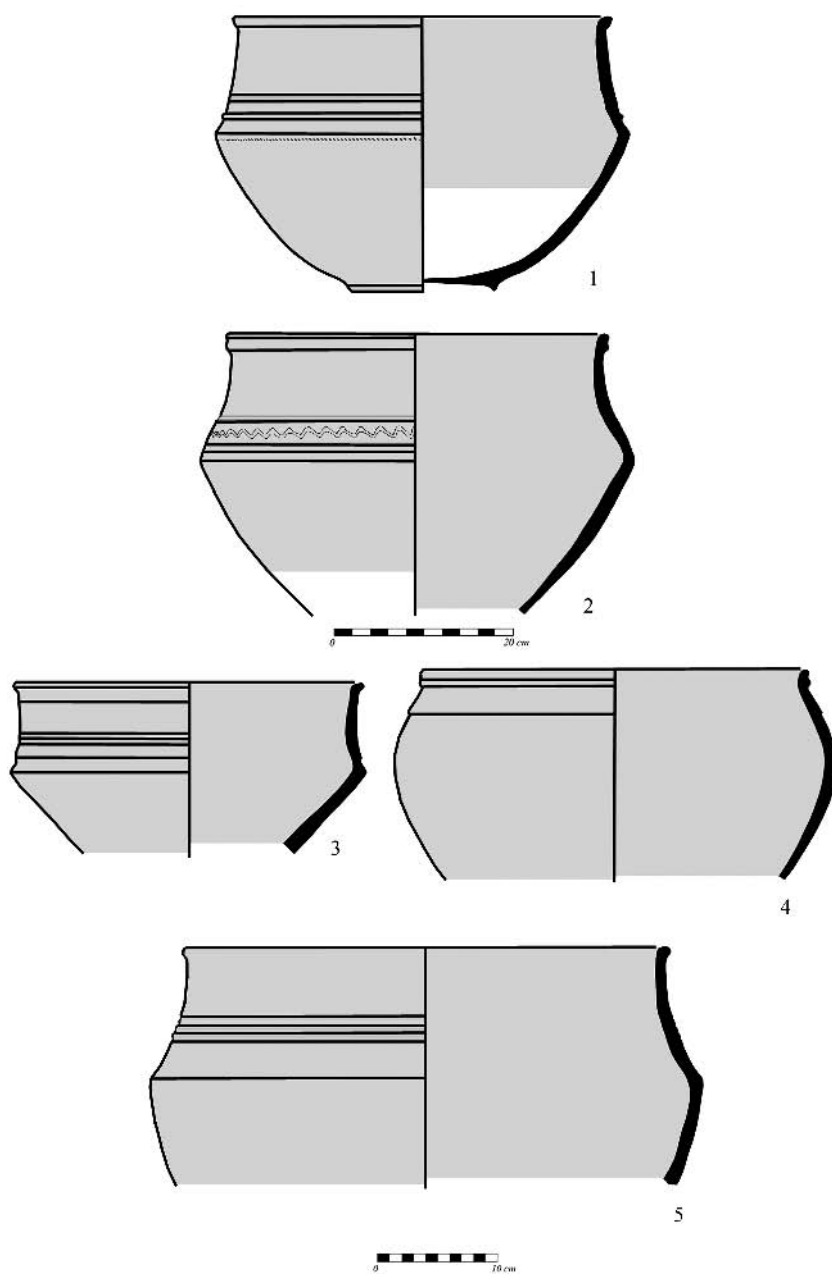


Fig. 18 — Drawings of Red Brown Wash Ware from Area A.

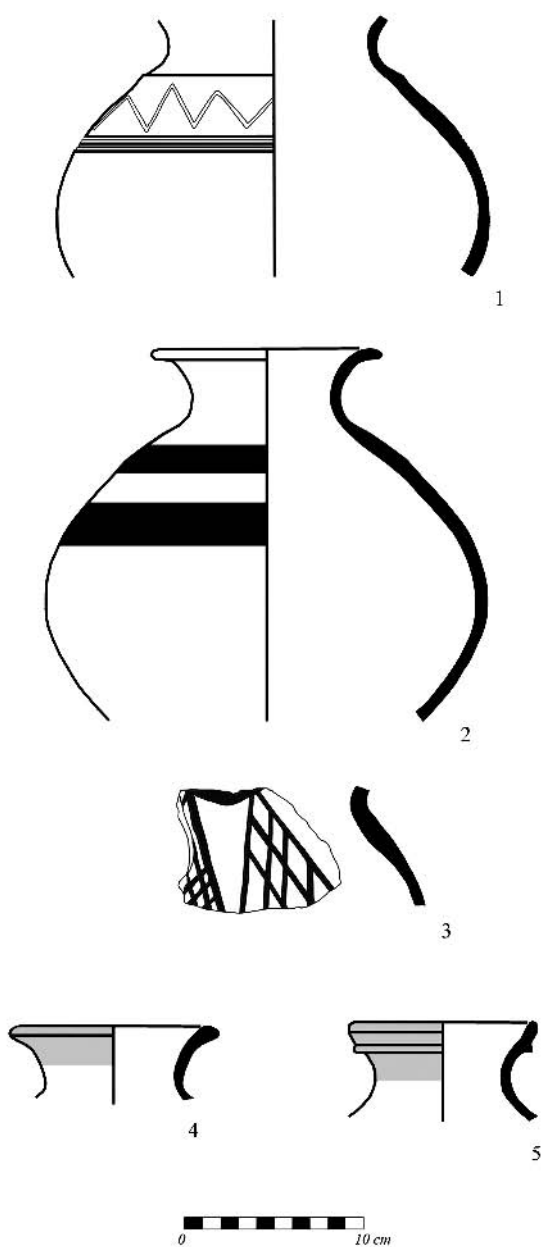


Fig. 19 — Drawings of Grey Burnished Ware (n. 1) and 'Pseudo-Khabur' Ware (n. 2-5) from Area A.

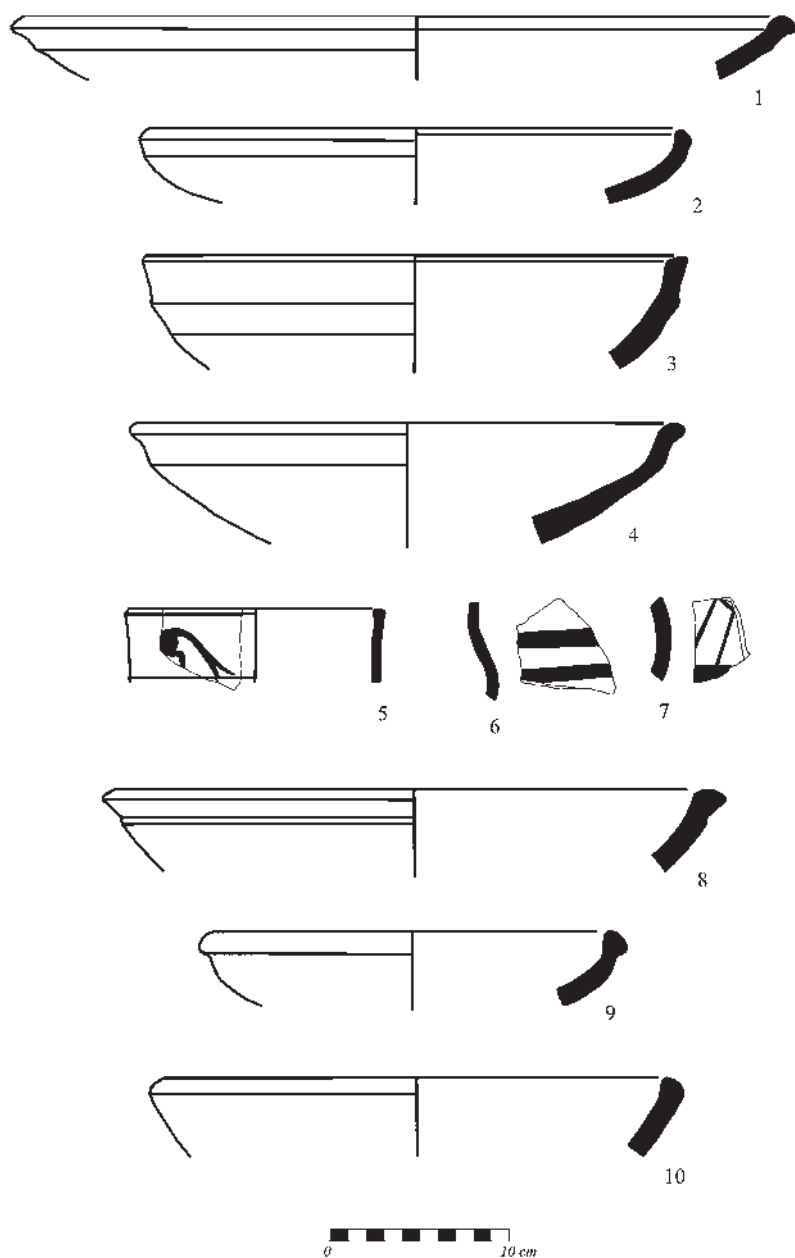


Fig. 20 — Drawings of Plain Ware (n. 1-4, 8-10) and Painted Ware from Area A.

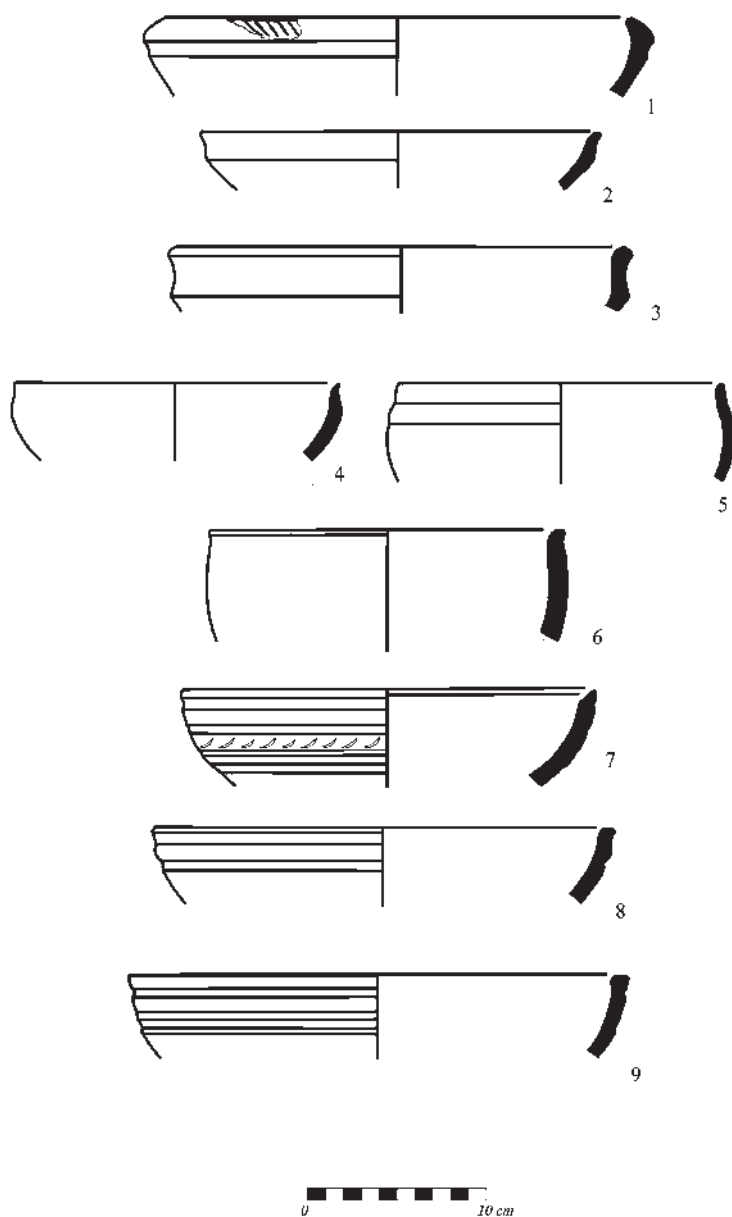


Fig. 21 — Drawings of Plain Ware (n. 2-5), Painted Ware (n. 1) and Grooved Ware (n. 7-9) from Area A.

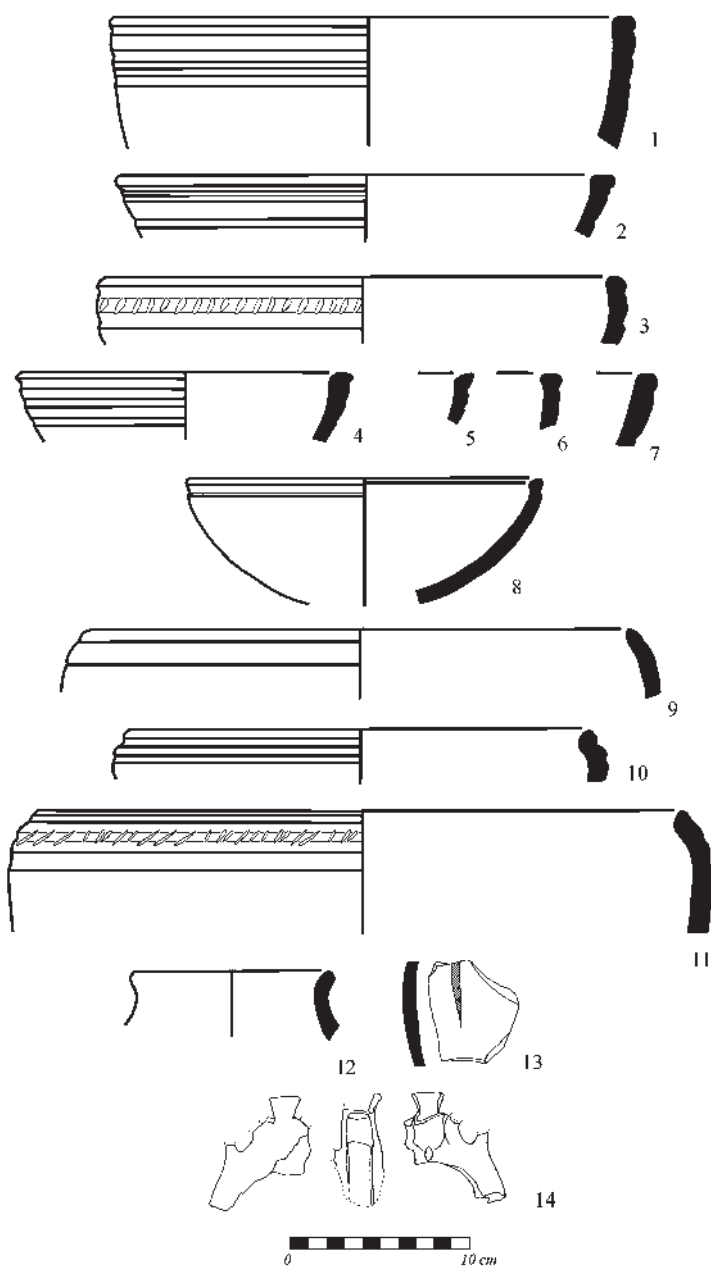


Fig. 22 — Drawings of Grooved Ware (n. 1-11), Plain Ware (n. 12), Painted Ware (n. 13) and Glazed Ware (n. 14) from Area A.



## BOOK REVIEWS

S. Lowenstam, 2008, *As Witnessed by Images: The Trojan War Tradition in Greek and Etruscan Art*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. xiii + 230, figs. 86. ISBN 9780801887758 (Hardback)

Steven Lowenstam did not live to see this book published. It was edited by Tom Carpenter, who in the forward stresses that he made no changes of substance, so that the work 'remains in every way true to Steven's intentions'.

The principal thesis of the book is presented on p. 4, that '...all art forms interacted with each other, their practitioners being aware of what the others were producing and responding to each other'. Lowenstam writes that no form is more important or influential than another, countering an oft-stated belief in the primary influence of Homeric epics, lyric, or plays. If a vase does not accurately 'illustrate' a Trojan War episode, is that just misunderstanding of the poetic source? Lowenstam notes three different models or paradigms that are used to explore the interaction of poets and visual artists: the greater importance of the former for the latter, the disregard of the former by the latter though they may know the poems very well, and finally, dependent on a late date for the establishment of the epics, that artists, poets, dramatists are all interacting, using very different versions of myths, '...conducting a dialogue that lasted for centuries'. It is for this last model that Lowenstam argues.

In order to explore these ideas, Lowenstam limits his investigation to the Trojan war, focusing primarily on vase-painting (though there are many representations in other art forms), first on mainland Greece, then in Magna Graecia and finally in Etruria. The latter is very interesting, as other scholars who have written similar works, neglect the Etruscans in this investigation, believing them, in the words of one writer, to have '...consciously pursued their own goals'.<sup>1</sup> Lowenstam does not disagree with this (p.127) and looks at the Trojan myths in Etruscan versions to see what messages might be conveyed, as indeed the Greeks did also.

There are many insightful discussions of the various objects throughout the book, as for example the British Museum stamnos by the Siren Painter: the author suggests that the two scenes (Odysseus and the Sirens, and flying Erotes) play off each other (pp. 47–51). Another is the Corinthian krater by the Detroit Painter, showing the marriage of Paris and Helen (pp.27–29): Lowenstam focuses on the significance of *Polyphentha*, the name of one of the horses of Helen's chariot. Yet, as Ghali-Kahil noted many years ago,<sup>2</sup> the vase is quite unique in the location of the scene, that is, at Troy. Thus Lowenstam could have looked ahead to the 4th century Apulian volute-krater by the De Schulthess Painter (pp. 86–88) of the arrival of the couple in Troy, a marriage which, Lowenstam writes (p. 86), '...though at first jubilantly welcomed, will produce endless grief': *polyphentha*, as suggested by the figures of Cassandra and Troilus. It would be helpful to know where in Italy the Detroit Painter's work was found.

<sup>1</sup> Small 2003, p.3.

Lowenstam is particularly intrigued by the Achilles-Troilus episode (mainland scenes: pp. 24–25, 35–37; Magna Graeca: p. 115–117; Etruscan: pp. 139–148). The Etruscan series is given the longest treatment and some Greek vases, not discussed before, are brought in here. Would the argument have been stronger if all had been discussed together? The geographical division is perhaps a difficult one, as some of the vases made on the mainland, including the Francois vase (pp 20–27) may have been intended for South Italy or Etruria.

There is also the suggestion that ‘At times the shape and use of a ceramic vessel contributed to the meaning of the image painted on it’ (p. 83). The first, certainly; the second is more difficult to substantiate, as many vases are found in secondary contexts. Are vases in a tomb made for the burial? Are vases found in contexts outside the place of manufacture in a primary or secondary context, that is, are they ‘second-hand’ vases, as has been suggested, or made specifically for a different city, and if so, were they intended as votive, funerary, or domestic goods? Lowenstam suggests that the Corinthian aryballoi with sirens and Odysseus (of which we have very few) were intended for athletes ‘...who met challenges in the gymnasium’ (p. 83); yet aryballoi are found in Corinthian graves, some of which may have been female burials, according to the grave goods. Certainly aryballoi are found in sanctuaries. It was not only athletes who needed scented oil.

This book builds on earlier work of Lowenstam’s, especially two articles in *TAPA* (1992 and 1997). The choice of Trojan War images to explore the relationship of text (oral or written) and pictorial images comes from his life-long work on the epics. The sections often seem unconnected, as exemplified by the section on the Kabiric vases. Lowenstam had briefly mentioned this group of Boeotian parodies in his 1997 *TAPA* article, suggesting relationships with parodies on some South Italian vases. But here there is no strong connection; and often individual sections, such as this one, read as discrete essays. This does not negate the perceptive analysis within the book; but more discussion across the geographical boundaries would have strengthened the underlying thesis. Would the work have been expanded had Lowenstam lived?

One technical criticism must be made: the photographs do not do justice to the argument. Many are too gray or do not show the details discussed in the text. Though it is convenient to have them in the text, quality can be higher if they are reproduced separately.

Between 2003, when Lowenstam died, and the book’s publication in 2008, a number of similar studies have appeared, which of course could not be used.<sup>3</sup> This is no coincidence, but an indication of changes in the discussion of oral and visual art, in which Lowenstam has been instrumental. We must thank Tom Carpenter for seeing this book through publication. It serves as a fitting *mnema* for Lowenstam’s devotion to Homer.

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1955 *Les Enlèvements et le Retour d’Hélène*. Paris: de Boccard.

<sup>2</sup> Ghali-Kahil 1955, pp. 117–18.

<sup>3</sup> Among others: Small 2003; Taplin 2007.

Small, J. P.

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2007 *Pots and Plays*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty.

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J. Chr. Gerber, 2005, *Hassek Höyük III. Die frühbronzezeitliche Keramik*. (Istanbul Forschungen Bd. 47). Pp. xi + 353, Plates 147. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag. ISBN 3803017688 (Hardback).

The Euphrates basin in southeast modern Turkey counts amongst the most thoroughly explored regions in Western Asia. After remaining almost a complete terra incognita for prehistoric archaeology until the second half of the 20th century, large scale water management and barrage projects initiated by the National Water Resources Management Board of the Turkish State (Devlet Su İşleri, DSI), to allow better irrigation of the less developed provinces and thus further improve the economic situation of Southeast Anatolia, brought about a significant change. This centennial endeavour triggered off numerous surveys and rescue excavations to document the pre- and early historical heritage of this region prior to its removal or inundation by these monumental water reservoirs.

One of these endangered sites was Hassek Höyük, located on the left bank of the Euphrates and first discovered by Istanbul archaeologist Mehmet Özdoğan in 1977 (cf. p. 15). Following initial magnetic prospection and other preliminary works, excavations were conducted by the Istanbul branch of the German Archaeological Institut (DAI) in collaboration with members of Ludwig-Maximilian University Munich from 1979 through 1986. Three final pottery study seasons were conducted in 1987, 1988 and 1990, before Hassek Höyük was finally flooded by the waters of the Atatürk Dam in 1991 (cf. pp. 14), sharing the same destiny with many of the other prehistoric sites that were subject to rescue campaigns in the region from the late 1960's onwards. Hassek Höyük, however, takes a special position amongst this irreversibly lost archaeological heritage, since it is the only site excavated on a large scale that displays uninterrupted yet chronologically restricted occupation from the late Uruk period to the end of the initial Early Bronze Age, therefore contributing substantially to a better understanding of the — still partly obscure — late 4th/early 3rd millennium cultural transition in this very region. The present volume, authored by Christoph Gerber, is devoted to the Early Bronze Age pottery found almost exclusively in domestic contexts at the site<sup>1</sup> and represents the third mono-

<sup>1</sup> A small quantity of Early Bronze Age pottery is associated with (intramural) graves of Hassek Höyük layer "o" and Pithos burials of the necropolis 'Hassek-West' (cf. pp. 174).

graph in the Hassek Höyük expedition final report series, a previous volume by M. R. Behm-Blancke having surveyed the lithic industry and the accompanying scientific investigations at Hassek Höyük<sup>2</sup>, the second by Barbara Helwing being devoted to the Chalcolithic, Late Uruk pottery from this site<sup>3</sup>.

Christoph Gerber's research on the ceramic material from Hassek Höyük was originally accepted as a doctoral dissertation at Ruprecht-Karls-University of Heidelberg in 1995, and focused exclusively on the Early Bronze Age ceramic industry at the site. This subproject within the overall excavation project built on the awesome amount of originally about 39,000 identifiable EBA ceramic items (cf. p. 17; 276), from which 9190 pieces could be double-checked and re-evaluated by the author, with 6938 pieces verified as Early Bronze Age pottery (p. 17). That said, even this reduced amount still demanded a painstaking and traditional-based discussion of shapes, fabrics, and wares to place the material in context with features, clusters and stratigraphy. However, the author deliberately attempts to put what might have been a rather limited antiquarian focus into a broader cultural context from the very beginning of his study. For that reason the first chapter of the book ("Forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick" ("Survey of the History of Exploration"), pp. 4-13) is dedicated to a re-examination of problems concerning regional terminologies and rival chronological systems of 3rd millennium Southeast Anatolia and Upper Mesopotamia, which have caused some confusion on how the beginning of the "Early Bronze Age" should be defined culturally and chronologically for this very region. This brief but valuable discussion considers most of the major contributions to this topic, although the late Norbert Karg's article on this matter, in the Cilicia Symposium proceedings from 1999, should be added here, since it efficiently reviews the core issues that led to incompatibilities of the rival chronological schemes<sup>4</sup>.

After a short section reviewing the location of Hassek Höyük and the applied excavation methodology ("Zur Lage und Ausgrabung des Fundortes Hassek Höyük/On the location and excavation of the Hassek Höyük findspot", pp. 14-17), the stratigraphy and architectural features related to the EBA pottery under consideration are briefly discussed ("Frühbronzezeitliche Befunde und Stratigraphie/Early Bronze Age features and stratigraphy", pp. 18-36), anticipating the already announced and forthcoming volume on the site's architecture and stratigraphy by M. Behm-Blancke and Chr. Gerber.<sup>5</sup> Despite the fact that this overview has to remain limited due to the actual scope of this book, it offers a first, most welcome insight into the architectural context of 3rd millennium BC Hassek Höyük, in advance of the full coverage and timely publication of the announced volume on building remains.

From page 37 onwards, pottery, the monograph's major issue comes into focus: the in-depth examination of Hassek Höyük's Early Bronze Age pottery industry, which is indeed accomplished in an immensely detailed manner. Major aspects like the typology of wares, surface treatment, and shapes are discussed in the same painstakingly thorough manner, noting "marginal" phenomena such as distinctive

<sup>2</sup> Behm Blancke 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Helwing 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Karg 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Behm-Blancke and Gerber forthcoming.

cracking patterns of handmade and wheel-made pottery (*cf.* pp. 43 with fig. 12). These extensive deliberations on the multi-fold technical aspects of pottery production are indeed useful and enlightening, furthering a better understanding of pottery-making as a complex process and providing — at least for the reviewer — many stimuli for his own studies on ancient pottery. All these chapters are treated with careful scholarship, leaving no essential issue, such as engobe techniques, grooves, incisions and alike, untreated.

It is the painted pottery, however, that constitutes the major diagnostic group within the ceramic products of the early 3rd millennium BC. Since two distinctive painting traditions — the so-called “multiple brush painting” in Western Syria and the Ninevite 5 pottery in Upper Mesopotamia — are attested in the Near East, the presence of these distinctive wares in neighbouring regions provides a rough indication of the cultural and chronological setting of these EBA communities. The author reviews the relevant issues and material in a subchapter on painted pottery (“Bemalung”, “Painted decoration”, pp. 81–103), with comparanda provided from the Turkish Euphrates focus (“Vorkommen am türkischen Euphrat (Südosttürkei)”, pp. 91–93); the Habur region (Vorkommen im Habur-Gebiet (Nordost-Syrien)”, pp. 93–94); the Northern Iraq Tigris area (“Vorkommen im nordirakischen Tigris-gebiet”, pp. 94–99); and finally East Iraq (Hamrin area) and Babylonia (“Vorkommen im Hamringebiet (Ost-Irak) und in Babylonien”, pp. 99–101). Here it could have been useful not only to revise the already well known (Upper) Mesopotamian distribution patterns, but to further extend this comparative study to the North, since assemblages of painted pottery from the East Anatolian and (Trans)caucasian foci could provide fresh exciting data.<sup>6</sup>

Following another comprehensive typological study of pottery shapes in relation to their stratigraphy in domestic or funeral contexts (“Die Gefäßformen und ihre Stratifizierung/The pottery shapes and their stratigraphic context”), with subchapters, pp. 106–176), the final two major chapters “Vergleichsfundorte” (“Comparable sites”, pp. 177–267) and “Die ältere Frühbronzezeit am türkischen Euphrat/The initial Early Bronze Age at the Turkish Euphrates”, pp. 268–275) provide the actual key sections of this volume. Here the industrious but more technical observations of the preceding chapters are used to place the Hassek Höyük ceramics into a larger cultural context, with material from several reference sites (amongst others Samsat, Arslantepe and Norşuntepe) being crosschecked and correlated. The actual social setting of Hassek Höyük is then finally characterised with regards to architecture and pottery production, helping to place the site in context with the overall cultural development of Greater Mesopotamia in the third millennium BC. Here it becomes clearer that, also with regards to its pottery industry, Hassek Höyük, a simple rural settlement, was embedded in a larger cultural entity expanding from the Euphrates to the Tigris valley, but likewise absorbing fashions from neighbouring Syria and East Anatolia. Moreover, the observed pottery technologies allow thoughts and speculations about possible close connections with the Karababa region and the Altınova. The mention of basalt foundations for more elaborate (public/ cultic?) dwellings and a “Zentralbau” on the “acropolis” of Hassek Höyük

<sup>6</sup> Especially since the author, quoting A. Sagona, refers to the Upper Euphrates region as a melting pot for Caucasian, Syro-Mesopotamian and local influences (p. 218 with footnote 883).

(cf. pp. 271), together with evidence for a lower town to the west, however, testifies to a more complex, stratified community, an observation that is supported through the presence of two elaborate intramural cist graves with rich inventories, belonging to members of a supposedly local elite (p. 271). In any case, the hopefully soon to follow final publication of these features will highlight these issues more thoroughly.

Six appendices help conclude this volume, including lists and descriptions of pottery ware groups (Apps. 1, 2), colour charts (App. 3), technical description guidelines for complete vessels (App. 4), stratigraphic datasets (App. 5) — and even scans of the original pottery records sheets used during the excavation (App. 6) — and so guarantee that the process of computing, defining and cataloguing involved in this study is fully comprehensive for the critical reader. Then comes a catalogue and plates, the quality of the illustrations excellent throughout, meeting the expected high standards of a German Archaeological Institute publication.

This book, superficially an astonishingly detailed study on the pottery industry of Hassek Höyük, with the valiant goal of attempting a holistic approach to the multifaceted aspects of pottery production, consumption and its social and chronological significance, is much more. The critique that it lacks a ‘northbound’ survey of Eastern Anatolian and Caucasian pottery products aside, this — in every respect — high quality volume will be an indispensable companion for everyone involved or interested in the in-depth study of Upper Mesopotamian Early Bronze Age ceramics, and leaves one in fresh hopes for the timely and equally excellent publication of the remaining finds and features of Hassek Höyük.

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Jean-Fabrice Nardelli, 2007, *Homosexuality and Liminality in the Gilgameš and Samuel*, (Classical and Byzantine Monographs, vol. LXIV). Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert. Pp.xiv + 106. ISBN 9025612261, 9789025612269, 9025606385, 9789025606381 (paperback).

Nardelli is to be commended for having produced this volume in English, although as even the title shows, the English is by no means perfect. I think he meant to write *Homosexuality and Liminality in the Stories of Gilgameš and Samuel*. One can be fairly sure of this, as the book is avowedly an “add-on” to Susan Ackerman’s *When Heroes Love: The ambiguity of eros in the stories of Gilgamesh and David* (2005). Why write in English when there are errors of grammar and lexicography on every page? Because Nardelli seeks, rather earnestly, to reach a broader audience, and to persuade his readership that there are indeed “homoerotic implications” in the Gilgameš epic and in the story of David and Jonathan, which was also Ackerman’s view. A quality press like Adolf M. Hakkert might have had the English checked before publication, because the prose, not always the easiest to follow, will defeat the author’s presumed hope of a more substantial readership. As it is, those who have an interest in this topic will welcome an intelligent and well-researched addition to the corpus, although I doubt that Nardelli made sufficient use of J. S. Cooper, “Buddies in Babylonia: Gilgameš, Enkidu, and Mesopotamian Homosexuality,” in T. Abusch, ed., *Riches Hidden in Secret Places* (2002). Also on bibliography, a search of the University of Sydney library located Paul Knobel’s *An Encyclopedia of Male Homosexual Poetry and its Reception History*. I gather that this wide-ranging resource is available in few libraries.

The book is really one long essay, although there are four chief sections: “External Characteristics of Ackerman” (more Euro-English, prefer “Ackerman’s Thesis”), “Gilgameš and Enkidu”, “David and Jonathan” and “Attempt at Conclusions” (perhaps “Provisional Conclusions”). There are three appendices. The first six pages cover Ackerman’s thesis in a little detail, but then Nardelli goes on in the second and third sections to set out a good deal of precise philological material, in the original languages, and takes Ackerman to task for certain omissions in her thesis. For example, he contends that she has paid insufficient attention to the critical role played by “covenant” in the story of David and Jonathan (esp. pp. 31–5). But Nardelli’s chief target is Ackerman’s use of “liminality”, and he describes her view that liminality can be attributed to Gilgameš and Enkidu as “at best founded on quicksand” (pp. 20, and 41–2 and 54 for David and Jonathan). Nardelli’s intelligent and nuanced comments on the theory of “Jonathan as wife” are found at pp. 39–40, especially nn.51 and 52.

Nardelli is of the view that a comparison with Greek poetry, and especially the legend of Ganymede, “corroborates the indirect but suggestive manner in which both... Gilgameš and Samuel speak of masculine attachment” (p. 49). One of the features of this book is the extent to which Nardelli makes use of cross-cultural evidence, especially from Egypt and Greece; he devotes the 16 pages of appendix 3 to an analysis of the homosexuality between Horus and Seth in the Pepi I spell. The ideas are good, but once more, the layout of them is rather chaotic, and only someone with a pre-existing interest in the area would persevere beyond the first page of this disquisition. It seems to me that his conclusion, that Seth is not indulging his libido (p. 91), is the standard view, and is correct.



Many of Nardelli's contentions are perfectly sound, and he wisely counsels that whoever addresses the relationships between these figures "will do well to approach his documents in a cool and sceptical manner, exhibit great reluctance to argue beyond what the evidence warrants and consistently distinguish between speculations, hypotheses and facts..." (p. 55). However, an expert should have checked not only the English but the flow of the prose. Too often, it seems that Nardelli has lost the thread of his argument when in fact what we see is merely disjointed writing. Consider the paragraph commencing "I give...", on p. 72, in appendix 2 on the Song of the Bow. There is some good research here, but it is, unfortunately, obscured by a chaos of clashing clauses.

Nardelli is frustrated at what he sees as a "bias" (p. 93) amongst modern scholars to see homosexuality in this ancient literature. This impatience spills over in certain places, such as n.49 p. 37 where he wonders what would have to be in a (biblical) text before the modern sceptics see in it a homosexual allusion. But for all his formidable learning and his zeal, the problems as I see it are that Nardelli and others (a) too easily discount the sounder reading of these texts in favour of (b) reading them through the lens of over 2,000 years and a social revolution. The "hypothesis" is always something of a trick of the eye, as it were.

It is not that same-sex eroticism was inconceivable to the ancient scribes: it was conceivable. But in ancient Mesopotamia and Israel it was inconceivable to suggest that two adult males shared a love which regularly included a realised erotic dimension. The notion that love between males necessarily has a homoerotic implication was not true of these cultures. Of course, the discovery of a new text could disprove my thesis. However, given the evidence which has come down to us, where homosexual encounters belong strictly to the area of casual sex (as opposed to the situation in Greece), one has positive reason to suspect that such a text will not appear. The fact that Greece is different shows why Nardelli's evocation of Ganymede is not sound. Not to trivialize the issues, they seem to me to be directly analogous to how even today some people of Anglo-Celtic simply do not believe that the Middle Eastern custom of adult males cheek-kissing when they meet is without homoerotic implications. Like Nardelli, they could rhetorically ask what further evidence is required. It is not as if there is no homosexual activity in the Middle East. There is. But this custom of kissing obtains precisely because there is no sexual dimension to it whatsoever. It is the context, and not the act alone, which makes the inference of homoeroticism utterly incorrect.

It is a striking deficit in Nissinen's work (*Homoeroticism in the Biblical World*, 1998) that when he talks of "modern worlds" he has in mind modern Western worlds, especially Finland (sic) (see pp. 132–3). I do not see why the practices of modern Israel, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and other places are ignored. Thus, Nissinen states that the relationship between Jesus and John can be interpreted as homoerotic only "in a strained way from very limited material." (p. 122) I would not even allow this: the interpretation is simply an untenable projection, being possible only because of ignorance of the customs of the Middle East where such sights are seen, not often, but when manifested, they are indicative of a special relationship. The asexuality of such relationships is what makes possible their public expression.

What then is happening in these texts? I wonder if the chief concern of Gilgamesh is not to present a picture of the place of humanity in the overall cosmic scheme. Man is mortal, he lives on earth. The gods are immortal, they live in the sky. Ut-napishtim and his wife are anomalous and so they live in an anomalous land.



Ištar threatens to unleash cosmic chaos by allowing the dead onto the earth. Gilgameš rejects her advances, not out of homosexual attachment to Enkidu but because he knows, quite correctly, that love between gods and mortals is not to be. But he is insolent to the goddess: he does not respect her exalted position. And so on. There is really no ground for thinking that they were intended to be shown as homoerotic lovers other than the well-known puns. But the whole point, one would have thought, of metaphors is that Enkidu is not in fact an “assinnu”, neither is he a “wife”. That is, the use of these metaphors actually distances Enkidu from an equation with them, while conveying with poetic force the strength of Gilgameš’s feeling. In forming such a conclusion it is legitimate to consider other literature of the culture. And when one does so, one can see that the references to Enkidu’s corpse as like that of a bride, for example, take their point from the fact that a sexual relationship between the two was unthinkable in that context.

With the books of Samuel, there are other weaknesses in Nardelli’s approach. He omits to notice that the main player in the entire narrative, and even in the story of David and Jonathan, is none other than Yahweh (see D.T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 2007, pp. 471–3). If Yahweh is omitted from the analysis, the view of their relationship is necessarily distorted. But surely the chief point is that we have what are said to be David’s own words, preserved in the Book of Jasher. The effect of that famous metaphor is possible only because Jonathan’s love for David is not that of a woman. That is, the Song of the Bow, which must be read as a whole and in its context, with its gracious references to Saul, is actually evidence contradictory of the “bisexual” thesis. Much is made of alleged ambiguity in these texts: I see none. I see, rather, a non-understanding of the Middle East.

One last matter: as a whole, it does seem to me that Nardelli is methodologically beyond Ackerman. “Liminality” is a modern construct. The concept has its uses in explicating connections between apparently diverse material, but Ackerman seems in places to believe that there is a creature which is “liminality” which can be identified and used as a causal explanation (e.g. at p. 203 of her book where she locates a “liminal marker” which then allows us to identify the liminality which was hitherto not apparent). A “liminal” perspective can invariably be found or dismissed, depending only upon the ingenuity of the writer. It is as if the use of one adjective justifies the use of the others. I doubt only that Nardelli’s critique goes far enough: Ackerman described Jonathan’s alleged “surrender of claim to the throne” (itself an inference of modern interpretation) to be the act of “a stereotypically good wife” (p. 228 of her book). On this “logic” any beneficent action can be classified as “wifely” or “husbandly”, and the entire analysis loses its meaning. But Nardelli is not beyond unfounded conjecture: he states that given “the precarious balance of power and status between Jonathan and David”, one may have been the ‘active’ partner at one stage of the relationship and the other have that role at different stages (p. 62). This to me, is a mirror of Ackerman’s hypostasizing “liminality”. A certain type of relationship, which I call “X”, has these features, A, B, C and D. If I find “A”, then I must have “D”, because “X”, on the unstated logic, is a real thing. In other words, together with the chief weaknesses of non-understanding of the Middle East, of misconceiving the significance of the texts as a whole, and projection into them of modern mores, there are methodological weaknesses in this entire line of scholarship.

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